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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 9

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1901

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:
DR. CYRUS ADLER.

Vice-Presidents:
HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE,
MENDES COHEN,
REV. DR. B. FELSENTHAL,
PROF. CHARLES GROSS.

Corresponding Secretary:
DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

Recording Secretary:
MAX J. KOHLER.

Treasurer:
PROF. RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:
HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, LL. D.,
HON. MAYER SULZBERGER,
PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,
HON. N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS,
HON. SIMON WOLF,
PROF. J. H. HOLLANDER,
JOHN SAMUEL,
REV. DR. DAVID PHILIPSON,
REV. HENRY COHEN,
PROF. MORRIS LOEB.

All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 915 N. 16th St., Phila., Pa., U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers, and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

The purposes for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons interested in the work of this Society is cordially invited.

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The eighth annual meeting of the Society was held at the Hebrew Charities Building, New York City, on Tuesday, December 26, 1899, about seventy persons being in attendance. The President of the Society, Dr. Cyrus Adler, presided at the two sessions and delivered an address.

The Treasurer, Dr. Richard Gottheil, presented the following report:

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society.

Dr.		
1899.		
Balance		$1075.90
Dues		725.10
Sales		13.68
		$1814.68
Cr.		
1899.		
Clerical Hire	$33.67	
Stationery	34.25	
Printing	1.05	
Insurance	16.80	
Expenses, meeting	21.50	
MSS. bought	25.50	
Stamps, checks	.04	
Expenditures,	$132.81	$ 132.81
		$1681.87
Interest		6.08
"		11.62
On Hand		$1699.57

Statement of the Assets of the Society.

Balance in Knickerbocker Trust Company..... $1699.57
Balance in Albany Savings Bank..... 1189.18
$1143.00 Bal. 1898,
22.86 Interest, (Jan).
23.32 Interest, (July).

Reverend Stephen S. Wise and Professor Morris Loeb were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Society had on its rolls 218 persons, of whom 5 are honorary, 13 are corresponding, 4 are life and 196 are contributing members. During the year the Society lost by death four members, one of them the venerable Judge Daly, who was an Honorary Member.

In July 1899 an arrangement was entered into whereby the Jewish Publication Society became the agent of this Society for the sale of its publications.

The Society purchased during the year a number of manuscripts. Several consist of the processes, in the month of June 1590, in Mexico City, against Francisco and Miguel Hernandez de Almeida, Portuguese miners, for Judaizing. The cases were abruptly terminated because the principal witnesses revoked their testimony. These men were brothers of Jorge de Almeida, an account of whose trial was published in No. 4 of the *Publications* of the Society.

At the De Castro sale, at Amsterdam, were procured in May, 1899, a number of important documents of the middle and end of the last century, relating to the congregation *Mickvê Israel* of the Island of Curaçao.

The Reverend Chief Rabbi of England, Dr. Hermann Adler, was elected by the Council, a corresponding member.

One publication, No. 7, was issued during the year.

On motion, the President appointed Miss Elvira N. Solis, Mr. Leon Hühner and Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, a Committee on Nominations. They reported the following list of officers, who were unanimously elected:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mr. Mendes Cohen, Professor Charles Gross, Dr. B. Felsenthal; Treasurer, Professor Richard Gottheil; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Recording Secretary, Professor Jacob H. Hollander.

Additional Members of the Executive Council; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, Mr. Max J. Kohler, Mr. John Samuel, Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen, Professor Morris Loeb.

A vote of thanks was tendered the officers of the Hebrew Charities Building for courtesies extended the Society.

On Tuesday evening the members of the Society were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Isidor Straus.

The following papers were presented:

I. *Further Documents Relating to the Inquisition in Mexico*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

II. *Isaac Levy and his Claim to Property in Georgia*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Library of Congress, Washington.

III. *The Early Settlement of the Jews in the Island of Barbados*, by Prof. Richard Gottheil, Columbia University, New York.

Additional Information Respecting Haym Solomon, by Prof. J. H. Hollander, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The Jews of South Carolina prior to 1800; *A Prominent Jewish Patriot of Revolutionary Times*, by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

The German-Jewish Migration to America; The Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement, II., by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

Jewish Topography of New York, by Miss Annette Kohn, New York.

Notes on the Early Newport Jews, by Reverend Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, New York.

Read by title:

New Documentary Materials for the History of the Marranos in Mexico; miscellaneous: (*a*) *Some Early Jewish Printers in America*, (*b*) *A Frankist Petition Addressed to Archbishop Lubinski*, 1759, *published in Mexico*, by Reverend George A. Kohut, Dallas, Texas.

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The ninth annual meeting of the Society was held in Philadelphia, at Witherspoon Hall, on December 26, 1900, 90 persons being in attendance. Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Society called the meeting to order and Mr. Max J. Kohler was elected Recording Secretary *pro tem.*, in the absence of Dr. J. H. Hollander, Recording Secretary, who was detained at his post as Treasurer of Porto Rico.

Prof. Richard Gottheil the Treasurer presented the following report:

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society, October 1, 1900.

Balance Knic. Trust Co., Oct. 1, 1899	$1706.40	
Dues and Back Dues from Members	845.00	
Steiger (Publications)	7.67	
Interest (K. C. T.) to Dec. 31, 1899	11.89	
Interest (K. C. T.) to June 30, 1900	13.09	
Total Receipts		$2584.05
Total Expenditures		1363.88
Balance		$1221.17
For MSS. (W. W. Blake)	$ 20.00	
Indexing Vol. 7	20.00	
Indexing Vol. 8	20.00	
Printing Vol. 7	298.75	
Printing Vol. 8	441.16	
Cyrus Adler–Copying documents	225.00	
Richard Gottheil–Copying documents	100.00	
Printing and Stationery	206.56	
Clerical Services	32.09	
Stamps and Exchange for Collection, K. C. T.	.32	
Total Expenditures	$1363.88	

Statement of the Assets of the Society.

Balance in K. C. T. Co., Oct. 1, 1900	$1198.62
Interest in Albany Savings Bank	45.00
Cash in hands of Treasurer	25.80
Former Deposit in Albany Savings Bank	1189.18
Present Deposit in Albany Savings Bank	$1234.18

The Treasurer further reported that his financial statement did not include an additional sum of $52.20 proceeds of sales of 61 numbers of the Society's *Publications* by its agent, the Jewish Publication Society of America. On motion the report was received, ordered on file and referred to an Auditing Committee of two to be appointed by the President.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald was read, in his absence. It expressed his regret at being prevented from attending the annual meeting, for the first time since the Society's organization. The report referred to the gratifying fact that the Society, though starting its career very humbly, has each year attracted to its meetings a constantly increasing number of young, energetic men as contributors to its proceedings; men who are not following historical studies as a profession, who are busily engaged in various pursuits, but who, nevertheless, are willing to devote a part of their scant time to doing their little to promote the study of the history of the Jews in America, and whose communications in the main, betray a dignity and scholarship equal to those presented before any other Society of similar character.

He reported that the Society has on its rolls 227 persons an increase of 9 over the number recorded at the last annual meeting. Of these 5 are honorary, 14 are corresponding, 4 are life and the remaining 204 are contributing members. There was no loss of membership by death during the year 1900, though several resigned and others were dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues. One publication, No. 8, was issued during the year. At a meeting of the Council held on November 29, 1900, Dr. Cyrus Adler presented his

resignation from the Chairmanship of the Committee on Publications, which was reluctantly accepted. A new Committee on Publications was thereupon appointed, consisting of Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Chairman; Judge Mayer Sulzberger and Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.

A proposed by-law was presented at the meeting of the Society by the Treasurer, at the suggestion of Mr. John Samuel, which was duly carried. It reads as follows: "Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years, shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact, and of this by-law, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society; unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrear, or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society which is hereby authorized on proper grounds, to remit said dues."

A Nominating Committee, consisting of Mr. Leon Hühner, Prof. Gottheil and Mr. H. Necarsulmer, was appointed, who recommended the election of the following officers, who were thereupon unanimously elected: President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mendes Cohen, Esq., Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Prof. Charles Gross; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Recording Secretary, Max J. Kohler, Esq.; Treasurer, Prof. Richard Gottheil.

Additional Members of the Executive Council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Prof. Morris Jastow, Jr., Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, Prof. J. H. Hollander, John Samuel, Esq., Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen and Prof. Morris Loeb.

At the request of the President, Mr. Mendes Cohen, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided during a portion of the afternoon meeting, and Hon. Oscar S. Straus, former President, presided during the evening session. At the evening session, Dr. Cyrus Adler read his Presidential Address, which was followed by the presentation by Joseph Jacobs, Esq., of "A plea for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition." After discussion of the various recommendations contained

in these two papers a resolution was presented by Judge Sulzberger, which was unanimously carried, as follows:

"Resolved, that the proposal to extend the work of the Society on the lines suggested in the President's annual address and the question of the advisability of holding an American Jewish Historical Exhibition be referred to a Special Committee, consisting of four members of the Council, and four additional members of the Society, with power to add to their number."

The following papers were presented and read, each of which gave rise to discussion:

I. *The Early Jewish settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania,* by H. Necarsulmer, Esq., New York.

II. *Notes on the History of the Earliest Existing German-Jewish Congregation in America, (Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia),* by Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Philadelphia.

III. *Fray Joseph Diaz Pimienta, alias Abraham Pimienta, of the Island of Cuba, and the Inquisition in Seville,* 1720, by Prof. Richard Gottheil, New York.

IV. *An Incident connected with Dr. David Nassy, Surinam,* 1797, by Prof. Richard Gottheil.

V. *Notes on the Grant of Original Privileges to the Jews of Surinam by the Local English Governor and Council,* (1665), by Rev. Dr. H. P. Mendes, New York.

VI. *Aaron de Montezinos and the Theory that the American Indians are Descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes,* by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

VII. *History of the Jews in Georgia in Colonial Times,* by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

VIII. *The History of the First Russian-American Congregation,* by J. D. Eisenstein, Esq., New York.

IX. *The Jews of Barbados,* by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

X. *Notes on the History of the Jews in Jamaica,* by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

Dr. Cyrus Adler.

Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

I am glad to be able to extend a welcome to so many members of the Society and to those also who are not members but evince an interest in our work by their presence. It is a gratifying fact that although our Society has never aimed either to instruct or to entertain and has continued to devote itself to its original purpose of research and the publication of results obtained, the public and the press have supported us by their generous encouragement.

The first scientific meeting of this Society was held in Philadelphia, in 1892, under the Presidency of Mr. Oscar S. Straus, our late Minister to Turkey, recognized at home and abroad as a learned author and a distinguished diplomat. In accordance with the custom which prevails among learned societies, Mr. Straus upon that occasion delivered a presidential address, and while he held office, up to 1898, he continued this custom, always bringing before the Society some new and suggestive thoughts or referring to some important investigations in our chosen field which had been carried on during the year. In establishing the custom our Society did not however follow the example of other learned societies and elect a new president each year. It is a fact known to the initiated that in learned societies the function of the president is to sit in the chair at meetings for one year in order that he may deliver a presidential address at his retirement. This address is largely a review for a year, or for a longer period, of the progress of the

particular science or branch of learning which the society cultivates, less frequently a discussion of general principles and theories, and, only occasionally, along the line of some original work which the president himself has been engaged upon. Now, it is obvious that no person can be expected to present an address year after year without it becoming a rather cut and dried affair. With our first president it was not so, and, in the early days of the existence of the Society, it was well that we broke through the usual custom and re-elected Mr. Straus from year to year since his presence, his advice, his stimulus and his executive ability, had much to do with placing the Society where I now think we can fairly claim it is, upon a permanent basis. This being the case, I wish to present to the Society, seriously, the idea that it shall not continue to re-elect its president from year to year; that a new man with new thoughts shall hold this office, and that the presidential address shall again become a really notable feature of our annual meetings.

I have decided this year, quite on my own responsibility and without involving the policy of the Society, and distinctly stating that the members of the Council are in no wise responsible for my utterances, to take the entire Society into my confidence and to discuss with them in a frank way matters which have heretofore been kept within the Council, or which have not as yet been touched upon at all, in order that each may feel himself a partaker in all affairs of the Society and lend his suggestion and his aid.

When the Society was started there were not a half dozen persons in the country who were engaged in the study of American Jewish history. The researches of Judge Daly, though printed, were accessible to very few. The book of Mr. Markens, valuable in many ways, was the only compact statement of the history and achievements of the Jews of the United States. Of the history of the Jews in South America and Mexico and the West India Islands, almost nothing was accessible to the average reader and little to the student

himself. The researches of Dr. Kayserling were published in books, of which few copies existed in this country, and while containing much about the South American states, were not written from the especial point of view of elucidating the history of those communities. The laborious and painstaking work of Mr. Simon Wolf on the public services in the army and State rendered by Jews of this continent was just then in hand. It required an organization of this kind to crystallize the interest and to promote the work. No one of us at that time, I think, had even a slight conception of the really important part which the Jews played in the history of the settlement of the American continent, and it was a view entertained even by some of our most enthusiastic members that a few years work and a few volumes would suffice to bring out all the important facts, and that our labors would then be over. It is needless for me to tell you that this is far from being the case; that we have but scratched the surface; that patient investigation and the examination of original records in every part of this continent and among the principal libraries of England, Holland, Spain and Portugal, and a careful study of the conditions which caused the migrations from Germany, Poland, and still later from Russia, will be necessary before the whole story can be told, and then, if we read the signs of the times aright, there will be new subjects for investigation, so that we may feel assured that the American Jewish Historical Society has come to stay.

With the fullest sympathy for the general dissemination of knowledge, and an entire understanding of the responsibility which any body of scholars has towards the public, this Society at the outset did not endeavor to become a popular organization. It was conceived to be our function to learn the truth and to state it, whether it were entertaining or not. Our meetings were to be in the main for our own members. Papers were to be read and time allowed for discussion of matters brought up whether they were of

popular interest or not. Such as were worthy from the point of view of affording new facts were to be published and circulated among the members and placed in the important libraries of the world, and these ideas have been steadily adhered to. We have left it to our sister society, the Jewish Publication Society of America, to disseminate knowledge. The Jewish press has recognized the importance of the work and the interest attaching to American Jewish history, and has from time to time had articles upon American Jewish historical topics, though hardly, I think, with the frequency which the subject warrants. The Society is to be congratulated upon the maintenance of its own standards, and we cannot but feel gratified that the body of our membership has, in the main, supported us in this view, and that without appeals of any sort we have enough income for our immediate needs with a comfortable reserve for extraordinary occasions or for a rainy day.

The Society by a vote of the Council undertook more than a year ago, to preserve a record of the Jewish soldiers and sailors who served in the Spanish-American war, it being understood that a preliminary list should be prepared and printed in the American Jewish Year Book, which would reach at least 5,000 persons and give opportunity for a corrected list to be published finally by this Society. The work was placed in the hands of Dr. J. H. Hollander, of Johns Hopkins University, who had hardly entered upon it when he was requested to go to Porto Rico, by the Secretary of War, for the purpose of investigating the financial conditions there and report a scheme of taxation. Understanding that this was but a temporary service, which would occupy him at most but two months, I agreed, although burdened with many duties, to carry on the work until his return, and when some months later he was appointed to the very honorable post of Treasurer of Porto Rico, the alternative was presented to abandon a work which had been promised to appear at a definite time, or to continue it in a more or less unsatisfactory

fashion. I chose the latter course, and printed in the Year Book for 1900–1901, a list, which is no doubt imperfect in many ways, but which may furnish, with the help of the members of the Society, a basis for a perfected list.

Quite a number of corrections have already been supplied, and I hope that more will come. How this work will be continued, or who will carry it on, I am not at the moment prepared to say, but the Society may be assured that it will not be abandoned.

Possibly because I have been connected with both enterprises, I may exaggerate their importance, yet I cannot but feel that two pieces of work, one published during the year, the other to begin publication shortly, are of great interest and value to our Society.

I shall refer first to the proposed Jewish Encyclopædia, which is to appear in twelve volumes, and to cover, as far as a pioneer work can, the history, the literature, the customs, the progress and the development of the Jews from the beginning of their existence down to the present time. In this America will have its full share, indeed in view of the fact that the work is undertaken by an American publishing firm, and is guided by American scholars, we may expect that American Jewish history will have more than the average representation. In many sections of the country, Jewish scholars are now at work preparing historical and biographical articles for the Encyclopædia, and from the actual work thus far done, I can say with confidence that nowhere else will such a body of information relating to the Jews in America, be found presented with such accuracy and such compactness. To this the existence of our Society has powerfully contributed, but while we have given much we shall naturally gain much, since the interest taken in this work will react in favor of such a Society as ours. I bespeak for the Encyclopædia the co-operation of all, as a Jewish literary project more important than any that has ever been undertaken on American soil, and one which will vie with the

greatest of our publications since the invention of printing as well as with the most important works undertaken before that time.

As editor of the American department, of this Encyclopædia, I have had brought very sharply to my attention the deficiencies in our knowledge of the subject and it is largely to speak of these and to recommend for your serious consideration some alterations in the plans of our Society, that I have introduced the topic.

We are extremely deficient in the entire field of sociology, economics and statistics so far as the Jews of this country are concerned. Now, I know that in modern scientific work a very great differentiation has taken place and that these subjects are relegated to an entirely separate class of investigators, but this should not be so in our case, or, at least if a different class of individuals do take up this work it should all be carried on under the auspices of this Society. I should like to see papers presented here on many sociological questions, on the development of education, philanthropy and social organization, upon the religious development, and as a most important and possibly primary need, careful and painstaking studies in Jewish statistics. To those of you who have the willingness to work and who want new subjects, I suggest this field as a comparatively untrodden one although it is true that in the eight volumes thus far published, a few papers upon this phase of our activity have been presented.

The other deficiency which the Encyclopædia work has brought out is our lack of definite knowledge with regard to the organization and growth of our local communities. I think that it may be fairly said that as a beginning in this direction the information, meagre and scanty as it is, furnished in the local directory of the last issue of the American Jewish Year Book, forms a real beginning, but it is only a beginning though one which I hope to see followed up. A broad view can be had of great general trends, only after each unit in a large aggregation is studied and accurately made

known. We shall never be able to write the history of the Jews in America until the history of each community has been separately examined. The study of local history and the publication of the results of that study, are a present great desideratum in our work. Not infrequently has Philadelphia been the leader in Jewish movements and it has been especially so in this field. The pioneer work of Mr. Rosenbach, followed up by the comprehensive volume of Mr. Henry S. Morais, on the Jews of Philadelphia, furnish us the best picture in existence of an American Jewish community. Of the greatest importance have been the investigations of Mr. Max Kohler upon the local history of New York. It would be of substantial service if these could be brought together in monographic form.

The vast extent of the United States and our scattered membership, rendering possible but one meeting a year, and the further fact that the great body of our members, possibly more than three-quarters, reside on the eastern seaboard, and has thus far limited our place of meeting to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, has militated against the growth of interest in local history. It is now time I think to enter upon a change in policy and stimulate the growth of local branches which shall meet quarterly for the discussion of topics in local history, whose results, however, shall be published by the central society. I do not propose the formation of any new societies, nor any plan whereby there shall be new dues or new expenditures. Wherever there are members of this Society, they might get together, organize by the election of a chairman and a secretary and hold meetings from time to time to lay out and discuss work which shall afterwards be presented at our annual meetings. The slight expenditure involved in calling meetings should be paid from the central fund, and the local societies or branches of this Society should feel themselves bound by the same regulations and rules as obtain in the central Society. I believe that by this plan the work of the Society would be stimulated

and its membership increased by that most desirable class, those who are actually engaged in historical work. There should be no excess of formality in the matter and as a beginning the members of our council resident in various cities might take upon themselves the task of organizing the proceedings. It is desirable that for the sake of a certain co-ordination the guiding spirit of these local organizations should always be a member of the council and if the growth in number of these should require any enlargement of the membership of the council, I am sure that the Association would be ready to vote the change in the constitution making this practicable.

This Society, as I have said before, is primarily devoted to original investigation, and for the first years of its existence I steadfastly resisted any attempt at engaging in popularizing work or even in endeavoring to popularize the work. I remember very well fifteen years ago or more when the university extension movement was first introduced into this country a very distinguished college president, saying that we had better get universities in America before we proceeded to extend them. I had the same feeling with regard to this Society. It was in a way our first learned Society, the workers were few, the resources were small, and I felt that any attempt at the time to popularize our work would detract from the original investigation which was so absolutely necessary. The workers are still few, and in a given life, one man can do but little, so that even now I hesitate somewhat in making the suggestion, but it seems that the time has come when to a limited extent we may bring our researches before the public in a popular or semi-popular form.

I would suggest that the men who are being trained as leaders of our communities and as teachers in them, should have their minds directed to this subject during their college life. I hope that the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, the Jewish Theological Seminary, at New York, and the

Gratz College at Philadelphia, may, in their curriculum, find a half dozen hours a year for a special course upon American Jewish History. While I do not expect that the Jewish clergy or Jewish teachers shall in any considerable measure devote their time to investigations into American Jewish history, it is but fair to expect that they may have an opportunity of acquainting themselves with its results in order that they in turn may communicate them to the larger public whose ear they will have.

The Chautauqua, Jewish Women's Council, the Young Men's Hebrew Associations, the great number of literary societies, and alumni societies, whether attached to congregations or independent schools, or entirely independent, all provide lectures and essays. May we not ask that in the arrangements of the programmes of these organizations at least one evening in a year shall be devoted to some topic connected with American Jewish history? Whilst the Society should by no means scatter its own forces and engage in this work direct, its members, many of whom are connected with the organizations of which I speak, can indirectly influence them to take up in a popular way the study of the very interesting history of the Jews on the American continent.

I have kept until the last, the most vexed question now confronting the Society, namely, a permanent place for the deposit of its collections. These collections are by no means numerous as yet. We have a few manuscripts, a few rare pamphlets and books, and a few portraits. There have been sent to us in exchange a number of important publications of learned societies which in no way concern our work and which we might very well dispose of. So far there has been placed in our custody as I recall, only one object of any size, and that is a part of the ark, belonging to the synagogue of Joseph Simon in Lancaster, more than 150 years old, which has been placed in the charge of the Society by the Mordecai family of this city, and which for safe keeping,

I have in the name of the Society, deposited in the United States National Museum. It might seem from the statement as to the smallness of the collection that it is hardly worth discussing, yet I feel that we can and should have a collection, and I am certain that there will never be one until a permanent place of deposit is selected, and a live person put in charge, for be it known that in societies as in the rest of the world, resolutions on paper have but little value without there be a mind able to carry them out coupled with a willingness to do so. When this subject was first broached we approached the Aguilar Library in New York City, but on reflection it seemed to be a place not quite suited to our needs. Next, negotiations were entered into with the Young Men's Hebrew Association in New York, but they failed. On my own initiative, I had an informal talk with the Director of the New York Public Library, Doctor Billings, who seemed to be willing to accept the collections of the Society, develop the Jewish collections in the library along the lines of our own needs, and in other ways make a center for students of American Jewish history; but a gentleman to whose opinion I attach great weight, and who himself is greatly interested in the development of the New York Public Library strenuously advised me against this course upon the ground that the collections of our Society, would, perforce, lose their identity in this vast mass of books and manuscripts, and since that objection was urged, there has occurred to me another, that our collections should consist not only of books, nor of papers even, but of objects of historical interest as well, and that possibly after all, a library might not be the best place to preserve them and to exhibit them. Professor Loeb, now a member of the Council, suggested some years ago the desirability of placing our collections in a room in the new Charities Building in New York, and there the matter stands.

My own view is that the collections should be either in New York or in Philadelphia, preferably the former, that

they should be in a fire-proof building, that the office of custodian or curator should be created, that under regulations to be adopted, the publications should be accessible to our members and the portraits or other objects properly framed or placed in cases and at stated times at least, open to visitors. While it may be true that all of these conditions could not be met at once, it would exhibit lack of foresight if they were not all taken into consideration. Understanding these conditions, the Society will be glad to receive aid or suggestions from representative bodies or men in this country as to the solution of the question. So far we ourselves have not been able to solve it. It would seem to me not wholly inappropriate, providing these conditions can be met, that the oldest congregation in existence on the soil of the United States, should constitute itself the custodian of our collections. It would seem that such a body which from its own members would probably be able to contribute more portraits and objects than any other half dozen groups together, and which from its very antiquity should be especially interested in the preservation of historical data would, if its arrangements permitted, furnish the natural resting place for collections which are coæval with the period of its own existence. I refer of course to the Shearith Israel Congregation of New York.

I have intimated before that the Society has had, from one or two unsolicited gifts of money and the income of its own membership, ample funds for its own work and a comfortable balance, but this I would say to you is due to the facts that all the work for the Society has been voluntary and that our resources have been carefully husbanded. Much more could be done if considerable means were at hand. There are many rare MSS. and books which from time to time come into the market bearing directly upon our studies, which should be acquired by the Society, had we a permanent home and a large fund. There are expeditions to be undertaken, with the expenses of travel and payment for services which

would result in vast additions to our present knowledge. Only this year two of our members, Mr. Kohler and Professor Gottheil have been abroad, and made studies in England, Holland, Portugal and Spain, about some of whose results you have already heard, but of course these studies were made at no expense to the Society, save for an occasional copy of an original record. I really believe that if we had the funds to enable one or two good students to make the study of American Jewish history a distinct profession, the results to be obtained would be beyond any conception now had. I can say for one small corner of the subject, namely the history of the Jews in Mexico, to which I have devoted some attention, that if I gave a number of years to this subject alone, the material now unknown and unpublished would not yet be exhausted or that if I had one person whose time I could command, a great light might be thrown upon the migration of Jews to this continent long before there were any settlements in North America.

I fear I may have wearied you in the presentation at such length of what might be called our family affairs, but the Society does now and always has appealed to every one interested not only in the study of the history of the Jews in America, but in American history in general, and we place our cause in the hands of the wider public in the expectation and hope that such of our projects as do not conflict with other and more important needs, will in due time receive recognition and help.

A PLEA FOR AN AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

By Joseph Jacobs, B. A., *New York City.*

I feel a certain difficulty in bringing before the Jewish Historical Society of America a plea for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition. Of course my chief argument in its favor, as your sagacity has already foreseen, will be the advantage it would be to the Society to have collected under one roof and at one time all or most of the materials extant for the history of the Jewish race on this continent. But in reply to the most eloquent description of the probable contents of such an exhibition you have one triumphant retort. You need only point to the goodly series of volumes forming the transactions of your Society and say "These have been made without the aid of any Exhibition. What need of one?" I grant at once the strength of such an argument and yet I will venture to bring forward certain considerations which may perhaps attenuate it.

The difficulty with a Society such as yours lies, I presume, in the fact that much of American Jewish history is family history. That is rightly so, since in family history there is that which gives flesh and bone to all history. Now there is nothing more secretive than a family with an ancient record, especially if it be decayed, and it is generally decayed. A feeling half of modesty, half of pride prevents it giving to the world the evidence of its past greatness and by implication, of its present decadence. But if an appeal were made to these families for a display of their relics in a general Exhibition, the conditions would be at once changed. The qualms of modesty would be allayed, the nobler side of pride, a generous feeling of emulation, would be aroused and you

would be surprised, I believe, at the amount of family history still lying buried in the desks and bureaus of the Jewish Daughters of the Revolution. You would be surprised at the extent and ramifications of what I would venture to call the F. F. J., (the first families of Jewry). Just at present your Society can only come in touch with those it knows; an historical Exhibition would bring to light those whom it does not know.

There is another consideration in favor of an Exhibition as contrasted with a Society. You have few workers and they can only attempt to deal each with one part of a very wide subject at a time, because they have to work up the materials. Just for the present your attention is naturally directed to origins. An Exhibition which only brings together rare materials, and at most catalogues them, can deal in its way with all periods and all sides of the subject. And not alone with all Jewish sides of the subject but with the general historic connection as well, which is so important for your history here in America. Your very distance from Europe, while in one way minimizing hitherto your importance in the general history of Jewry, in another way magnifies it into world historic importance. It has hitherto taken a big European movement to send Jews in any large number across the Atlantic and hence the successive stage of your history connects itself with the great historic movements of Europe. Your *origines* connects itself with the expansion of Spain, the next movement connects itself with the struggle between Spain and Holland which was to lead to the mighty conflict between France and England, of which your Revolution here was but a side issue, in which Jews, as you yourselves have shown, had their part to play. Then came the reaction against the French Revolution, culminating in the Revolution of 1848, and you have still to tell the story how the men of '48, by their keen intellects and cool courage helped to shape much of the Judaism of America and something of the general educational system of the country

between '50 and '80. Finally there was the Russian Exodus of '82 and '91, and we yet await the sacred poet who shall tell of the big things you did and America did in receiving nearly three-quarters of a million souls without turning a hair. All this and more also an Exhibition could display simultaneously and in connection with the general European movements of which they were the outcome, whereas your Society must deal with them piecemeal, and except on rare occasions, disconnected from the more general movements that give them life.

There is another thing which an Exhibition can do for history which a Society can only do on a very small scale. It was Carlyle that first saw what an aid to the historic imagination was afforded by the pictorial arts: a man's portrait, he said, was the best commentary on his deeds. An exhibition affords an occasion for the systematic collection of historic portraits and other historic relics which the transactions of a Society can but seldom offer.

A Society again must depend mainly on its own efforts, and can only reciprocate with other Societies by the somewhat depressing process of exchanging publications. But an Exhibition can appeal more directly and more widely to all institutions having connection with the history and archæology of the country. If, for example, an attempt were made in connection with the Exhibition to compile a bibliography of American Jewish history, without which your studies must necessarily be incomplete, an appeal to all the local historical societies for items would scarcely fail to produce a satisfactory response. An Exhibition can make such an appeal the more effectively, since with it, it is "now or never"; a Society we always have with us.

So far I have been dealing with the subject from what I may call its self-regarding aspect, the various advantages it would bring to the study to which your Society is devoted. But you are men as well as historians, Jews as well as Americans, and it is not therefore irrelevant to point out the effect

of such a collection on the general position of the Jews in this country. It would cause as much a surprise to Jews as to others to find how closely they have been connected with American history from its very beginning and in its very beginning. Let them read Dr. Kayserling's book, may be the reply. But there is some difference between reading about Abraham Zacuto, and the service his astronomical tables were to Columbus and seeing an actual copy of the very book. To see a copy of the very instrument by which Columbus took his observations and to learn it was made by a Jew is something other than merely to read the fact. And so throughout the history.

An Exhibition is an object lesson in history which can be given to the world in no other way, that the Jewish element has been connected with the rise and development of the United States, equally with any of its constituent parts. Before the Jewish element becomes more conspicuous, as it inevitably must, that is a fact which it is worth getting well driven into the national mind. And I know no way more efficacious than an American Jewish Exhibition, on the committee of which would naturally be others than Jews. And if an Exhibition succeeded in arousing outside interest, that would react in the well known way within the community making Jews prouder of and more interested in their own history in this country. This again would react, in the best way on your own Society by giving you more subscribers, and what is even of greater consequence, more workers.

I pass over more briefly several subsidiary advantages. If it should be found desirable to supplement the purely historical side by a display of objects of ecclesiastical art, for the sake of the ladies, the Exhibition might help towards increased attractiveness for Jewish cultus both in home and synagogue. If a further supplementary show of Palestine antiquities were added, you might attract the conscious and the unconscious Zionism which appeals so strongly to every

Jewish heart. But these would serve but as annexes from our present point of view, which regards an historical Exhibition mainly for the sake of the impetus it would give to historic studies.

Here I must be content to leave the matter. Practical details—whether such an Exhibition should be held in New York or Philadelphia, the only two possible alternatives, whether a special Russian section be not arranged for with a committee from present members of the Russian contingent, what financial connection should exist between the Society and the Exhibition—are obviously subsidiary questions dependent on the more vital one whether this Society approves of the general principle of holding in the near future an American Jewish Historical Exhibition, to collect and exhibit all objects connected with the history of the Jewish race on this continent from the earliest times. If it were in order I would beg to move that it be referred to a special committee to report on the advisability of holding such an exposition to a general meeting of your Society, to be held not later than May 1st of next year, and I would place at the disposal of such committee any information I may possess as to means and methods learnt in a former experience.

The thing will come, gentlemen, sooner or later. I am very anxious that it should come in the most appropriate way under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society of America. We would then have a guarantee that the American Jewish Historical Exhibition would be conducted and arranged with knowledge, with discretion, in good taste and in a practical way.

FRAY JOSEPH DIAZ PIMIENTA, ALIAS ABRAHAM DIAZ PIMIENTA,

AND THE AUTO-DE-FÉ HELD AT SEVILLE, JULY 25, 1720.

By Prof. Richard Gottheil, *Columbia University, New York.*

During a visit to Seville, in September, 1900, I made a search for documents which might be of interest to students of Jewish History. In the municipal archives of the city I came across an account of an auto-de-fé held there on July 25, 1720. As it deals largely with a man who lived in the Island of Cuba, I thought it might be of interest to the American Jewish Historical Society, and had the whole of it copied. The official signature of the document is "Auto-de-Fé de 25 de Julio de 1720. Archives Municipal de Seville—Papeles y documentos del Conde del Aguila—Tomo 4°, Número 54." I have to thank Señor Luis Jiminez-Placer, attaché of the Archives, for the copy which he made, and Mr. William Milwitzki of New York, for the assistance he has given me in explaining the Spanish text. In the following I have given an abstract of the manuscript. The opening words are:

"Auto-de-fé, which the sacred tribunal of the Inquisition of this town of Seville celebrated at the royal convent of San Pueblo, of the order of the Preaching Friars, on the day of St. Jacob, the 25th of July, 1720." It is interesting to find the note added that there had been no degradation at Seville since the year 1632, a period of nearly one hundred years. At this auto six accused persons appeared; the one a priest, the subject of this paper, was degraded in the square of Saint

Francis in the presence of the bishop of Licopoli, Don Fray Joseph Esquibal and a large concourse of people.

The history of this priest is certainly an interesting one and might form the ground work for a soul-stirring boys' story. It would be hard to say what crime he did not commit, though I cannot possibly vouch for the truth of the statements made, which depend entirely upon the charges of the Inquisition. Fray Joseph Diaz Pimienta, alias Abraham Diaz Pimienta, was a shoed priest (in distinction to the bare-footed monks) of the order of Our Lady of Benevolence. He originally belonged to the convent of Santa Maria del Principe in the Island of Cuba. The document says that he pretended to have been born at San Juan de los Remedios. According to his baptismal papers he was thirty-two years old, but from private information in his possession he declared that he was thirty-six. He was a Christian, baptized and confirmed in the town of Havana. He had been a priest since the year 1708 and had said mass for the last time on the day of St. Bartholomew in 1714, at a place called Marconado, near Rio de la Hacha. He had studied grammar and morals at the convent of La Puebla de los Angeles; to what effect he had studied the latter of these two we shall see in a moment. At the age of nine his father sent him to Havana, where he studied for two years and a half, after which he went to the convent of Our Lady of Benevolence as a lay member of the order, awaiting the proper age to take the garb of the monk. He was admitted as monk on the 24th of September, and took the oath on the day of Our Lady of Carmel, 1706.

Very shortly after this time the pranks of our monk commenced. Within two months he had a quarrel and escaped with two other priests, remaining in the house of his parents about ten months. He then returned to the convent, and a year and a half afterwards made a request of his superiors to go somewhere to complete his studies, but the necessary permission was not given him. He again fled the convent,

going first to Caracas, then to Vera Cruz, and finally to Puebla de Los Angeles. Here he forged his baptismal papers in order to get a written permission from the bishop that he might be ordained a priest. He was successful, for the bishop appointed him to the office of sub-deacon of his own order. Armed with this permission he said mass at Vera Cruz. After four months he returned to Havana, where the bishop deprived him of all his titles upon learning that he was not of the necessary age to be ordained. After wandering about for twenty days he returned to his convent to spend there the years of his novitiate. But in a short while he escaped, was arrested and put into the stocks, from which also he seemed to have been able to extricate himself. Two months later he was taken prisoner again, put into the stocks and kept chained there for the space of two months. Upon being pardoned he was sent to the convent of Arta, where he remained for ten days. Being in want of money he went to the French colony of Prechiguan and after three months to Puerto del Principe in Cuba. Here he forged a letter from his bishop, giving him permission to go to New Spain. Upon one occasion, the document says, he returned home as a sort of interlude in order to steal some mules that belonged to his mother. While thus engaged, he fired upon a servant, inflicting upon him seven wounds. Knowing that the church authorities of Havana were after him, he embarked in a cutter but was taken by English corsairs, who after eight days of imprisonment, put him down on the promontory of Icacos, on the Island of Cuba. From there he went to Trinidad where a priest who knew him certified to his clerical character, and after twenty days he was sent to collect alms in Cabanas de Tilu. He became sub-vicar at Pueblo, was successively at Tarimtos and San Benito Atad, and various other places. While sub-vicar he had a love affair with a certain woman and as the man who supported this lady threatened to kill him, he went about armed with pistols, which he once used upon a mulatto who struck him for having refused to give him a marriage license.

I pass over some of his other crimes, or other reputed crimes, but it is interesting to find that at one time he pretended to be a minister of the Inquisition itself, which act also brought him into trouble. We then hear of him as embarking in a Dutch cutter which was about to sail for Curaçao, where he intended to become a Jew, since money was given for such an act, he having known of persons who had done this and had received three hundred pesetas. But, the document adds, he wished to become a Jew in such a manner as not to be obliged to flog the crucifix or the other holy images. He arrived at Curaçao on the 6th of February, 1715, and in a conversation with a Jew there, he said: "You Jews are bad men, for you flog crucifixes and images." To which the Jew replied, that they did no such thing, for in the first place it would be a very great sin to have the images in one's possession. Pimienta thereupon abandoned his priestly garb and went to live at the house of the Jew who had been the godfather of the convert who had received the three hundred pesetas. He told him that he, his mother and his grandmother, had all been Jews; that his mother had advised him to live in a place where Jews were; that he was fleeing from the Inquisition, which had forced him, together with sixty-four women and two men, to accept Christianity, and had deprived him of all his possessions; by which lies, the document adds, he meant to obtain money from the Jews and then to flee. In answer to a question, he said that he had no doubt that the Messiah had not yet come. The cross-examination through which he was put must evidently not have been satisfactory, for we read that one of the Jews remarked to the other that although this individual had been a theological student, he was very ignorant of holy writ, and that on account of this they would place certain books in his hands to read.

Pimienta was then taken by the Jews to Palma. Upon his stating that his mother had been a Jewess, a negro servant was given him and he was treated to chocolate. The

Jews also gave him some books containing Jewish laws, which are that the spoon which serves for butter cannot be employed in eating meat, nor the knife nor the plate; that the Sabbath was to be observed with no lighting of candles nor was he to smoke; all of which precepts numbered one hundred and thirty-two. Other books given him were the Bible in vernacular Spanish, the Prophets, and a book called "Oronio" which contained things contrary to the faith. He read these books as well as one called "Talamontcin,"[1] which treated of the genealogy of Our Lady and which said that she had been the wife of Señor Don Joseph, that the latter had not been the father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but some one called Juan Pandera. He experienced many scruples in partaking of Jewish meals and would certainly have fled his new friends had he not been afraid of the Sacred Tribunal. The Jews still hesitated to receive him, and wished to send him to Amsterdam, but he refused to go to a country which was so cold, it being very warm at Curaçao at that moment. He tried to have a letter sent to his parents, telling them of his condition. This, being intercepted, he told the Jews that he had acted merely for the purpose of regaining possession of his wealth and of then declaring that the Law of Moses would endure forever. The document says that he wished to accompany his godfather to the sea-shore, intending to throw the Jewish books into the sea, but the Jews removed him to a village a mile and a half away. We are then told that he took the lessons of his teachers to heart and tried to become a good Jew. He tore up his rosary, saying, "If these things are of God, let flowers grow out from them. Then shall I believe in the Lord Jesus." But as no flowers grew, he entered the covenant of Abraham on May 21, 1714, and assumed the name of Abraham. For doing this he received ninety-four pesetas and a great festival was held in honor of the occasion. After two

[1] Is this the distorted name of the polemical Ma'asē Tālui or, as it was also called, Tōl^{e}dōt Yēshū'?

weeks he was taught to recite the following prayer evening and morning: "Sema Israel Adonai elonvchad Barrunsech, Malarto le Olavafet,"[1] of which he only understood "Adonai," which means God.

Another prayer in Spanish is as follows: "Thou shalt love Adonai, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy knowledge; and these words which I command you to-day, thou shalt bind upon thy hand and place them as *tifilim* upon thy eyes, and thou shalt write them in thy houses and upon thy doors that thy days may multiply, and those of thy sons as Adonai has sworn."

They gave him the fitilin (*tifilim*), which is, the manuscript says, a sort of tiara with small ornamented sticks sewed on, the whole of which is attached to the head and descends to the left arm, making a turn until it ends at the middle finger; all of which, he was told, meant the fear of God.

He performed all other ceremonies and then went in a cutter to Bahia Honda, where he collected more than five hundred pesetas so that he might keep up all the Jewish regulations, but he found these too numerous and observed none at all except when some Jew was present.

He went back to Curaçao and on the way recited litanies of Our Lady and the Salvas, being already tired of being a Jew or out of a certain veneration which he still felt for the Catholic faith. While here he observed neither the Jewish nor the Christian law, so that a Lutheran Dutchman remonstrated with him, saying that having been born a Christian, and having turned a Jew, it were better that he had never been born. He therefore began reading a book, entitled "The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ," a very Catholic work, and began to repent of having become a Jew.

He seems once more to have taken up the wanderer's staff. He put out in a boat, and after three days on the open

[1] It is no wonder that the Shema' has been thus distorted by a scribe ignorant of Hebrew.

sea was taken, near the Island of Oruba, by corsairs and brought to Jamaica, where a Jew who knew him gave him assistance. On one occasion here in Jamaica, he wished to throw the book of the New Testament into the fire, but he seemed to see blood come out of it and, taking this as a sign from heaven, he decided to retire from among the Jews. Yet in spite of this decision he twice attended services in the synagogue, during which time he recited all the Catholic prayers. While in Jamaica he associated with many Catholics and he decided to go to Rome. In the meanwhile he baptized with his own hands, two Jewish children, but, learning that the Inquisition or the Jews were after him, he fled with fifteen Indians and one Jew, and wreaked his vengeance on the latter by flogging him daily, making him eat ham and recite the names of the Holy Trinity. After a while he had trouble with the Indians, fought a battle with them and was left for dead on the field. After many vicissitudes he came to a camp where he was seized, put in chains, and taken to Rio de la Hacha. Here he played the fool, praying for twenty days according to Catholic rites and just as many according to Jewish. He said that if he came before the Tribunal he would be a Christian, if he could escape to Curaçao he would be a Jew. He also called upon the devil to free him from his prison, promising his soul in return for this favor. He was taken before the Tribunal of Carthagena and was judged at the auto-de-fé in the convent of Santo Domingo, on June 20, 1715, wearing the garb of a penitent, namely, a cloth in the form of two crosses. He recanted, was reconciled and ordered to live permanently in a convent of his own order in Spain. He left Carthagena in April, 1718, arriving at Cadiz in the month of August in the same year. Here at Cadiz he escaped, together with another prisoner, but was apprehended at Xerez, when he was chained and placed in a convent.

Having heard that there were Jewish families in Xeres and Cadiz, he wrote to a number of them, asking them to come and see him as he could not go to see them. The

manuscript says that he did this in order to avenge himself upon the Jews of Curaçao. To the Jews of Cadiz, he wrote, begging for the loan of twenty-five doubloons, which would be paid in Jamaica to certain persons, giving the names of the most prominent Jews as well as of some Jews of Curaçao. Of course he received no answers to these letters. After two months he wrote to the commissary of the Sacred Tribunal: "Señor Mio, May your Grace take notice that I am still a Jew and that I shall always remain one; but I shall gladly die for this and may your Grace therefore come as quickly as possible to take me to the Inquisition." This note he signed Abraham Diaz Pimienta. He did this, we are told, with the idea that the Jews of Xerez would hear of it and give him money.

A short time after this he escaped from the convent, slept that night in a barn and took the road to Seville. He took off his holy garb and, upon arriving at Puebla de Coria, asked the captain of an English boat to take him aboard, as he wished to go to Jamaica. The captain, however, advised him to go to Lisbon, as his flight from there would be attended with less danger. At Lisbon, pretending to be a seaman, he was taken aboard a Dutch vessel, but before the ship sailed, he changed his mind and returned to Seville, where the Inquisition got hold of him and put him in prison.

Called before the first audience, he gave a short history of his life, saying he was a son and grandson of old Christians who originally came from Cadiz, and that ever since the auto of Carthagena, he had been a Christian; that while in prison he had confessed himself every four or eight days, and that the letters which he had written at Xerez were meant to deceive the Jews of that place, and to take vengence on those of Curaçao. Though he repeated these statements at the second and third audiences, when the "Alcaydi" visited him in his cell, he was sorrowful and confessed that he had committed a great sin, since he had denied that he was really a Jew, stating that from the time he had entered the Covenant of Abraham at Curaçao he had

followed the law of Moses; that he had kept the Sabbath while here in prison; that he had not eaten of ham nor of meat that had not been properly killed. He was then charged with all that he had said, whereupon he declared that he knew only one God, the Creator of all things, and one in person only; that he recited the fifteen psalms of assent, but without the Gloria Patri, as well as another prayer which the Jews of Curaçao had taught him and in which he asked for God's mercy. He declined to consult an advocate and would have signed the confession at once, had it not been the Sabbath day. For the space of two months the most learned men of Seville were sent to him, but he remained strong in his error, whereupon he was condemned to a public auto-de-fé, to be degraded, declared a heretic and apostate, and given over to the secular arm.

On Monday, the 22d of July, at eight o'clock in the morning, he was notified that he would be put to death on the Thursday following, which notice he received with a quiet and contented mind. As soon as his case became known in the city, prayers were offered up for the salvation of his soul. On Wednesday, however, at two in the afternoon, he accepted the Catholic faith and confessed himself several times. On Thursday, the 25th, early in the morning, he said mass and administered the Holy Eucharist. Towards six o'clock in the morning he left with the other culprits for the public auto, on the Plaza de San Francisco, where he was delivered over to the secular arm, which pronounced the legal verdict of death, declaring that since clemency had been asked, the culprit was to be put to death by strangulation, and afterwards his body was to be burnt. In the evening towards six o'clock, he was placed on an ass and taken through the streets that led to the burning-place, accompanied by a vast crowd. Here he stopped to confess his sins, begged pardon for the bad example he had given and asked to be burnt alive so that no one might say that his conversion was due to fear. This request, however, was not granted. He was strangled and died with ease. The doc-

ument adds: "When only half of the twist had been given he died without moving his legs. His body was immediately clothed in the mantle and cap of the convict, and thus he was burnt. The crowds remained until dawn and it must be remarked that no bad odor resulted from the burning, as happens in other cases."

It might be as well to add the names of the other five who were brought up at this auto-de-fé. The second culprit was Beatriz del Valle, aged 70 years, born at Zara, inhabiting Cadiz, a merchant of linens. She was reconciled, sentenced to two hundred lashes, to the penitential garb and to perpetual imprisonment.

The third victim was Sebastian de la Pena, born at Zara, inhabiting Cadiz, and son of the above mentioned Beatriz. His age was twenty-eight. He was sentenced to suffer the same punishment as his mother.

The fourth victim was Rosa de la Pena, sister of Sebastian, aged nineteen. She received a similar sentence.

The fifth was Melchor de Molina, born at Osuna, inhabiting Seville, aged forty-four, merchant of linens, accused of Judaizing. One of the charges against him was that on a certain occasion, harboring at his house in the city of Ronda many professors of his law, they wished to start on a journey on the Sabbath, whereupon the accused reproached them as follows: "Good observers of the Law of Moses you indeed are. Do you not know that the Sabbath, according to our law, is so sacred that nothing can be done on that day; to such an extent that if any one raises his hand to his head on the Sabbath in order to scratch himself, his hand retains the position so that he cannot move it until evening." He was reconciled and sentenced to two hundred lashes, seven years in the galleys, and after that perpetual imprisonment and the penitential garb.

The last victim was Manuel Rodrigez, born at Malaga, aged forty years. He also was accused of Judaizing, was reconciled and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and the penitential garb.

THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLEMENT AT LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA.

By Henry Necarsulmer, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

On May 2, 1727, Lancaster County was erected. In 1730 the town of that name was laid out.

The earliest record extant of the Jewish settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, seems to be that of a deed dated the 3d day of February, 1747, from Thomas Cookson, (County Register and the first burgess of the Borough of Lancaster)[1] to Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, which name should read Simon, conveying a half acre of land in the township of Lancaster to said grantees, "In trust for the Society of Jews settled in and about Lancaster, to have and use the same as a burying ground."[2]

In the "Journal of Treaty with Six Nations by Commissioners of Maryland and other provinces at Lancaster, June 1744," there are references to Jewish Settlers at that place and to Jewesses "not long since come from New York."[3]

A letter from Richard Locke (dated Lancaster, April 11, 1747), to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, contains the following singular classification in the list of sects represented at Lancaster:

[1] Vol. 25, No. 11, whole No. 534, *The Jewish Exponent*, article entitled "An old Lancaster Cemetery" by Monroe B. Hirsch of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 27, 1897.

[2] A complete copy of this deed is contained in *The American Jews' Annual for* 1893, pp. 96-98. Original deed recorded in Recorder's Office of Lancaster County, in Record Book B, p. 441 etc., June 29, 1747. See Appendix I.

[3] *Notes and Queries* (*Egle*) 3*d. Series*, vol. I, pp. 278 and 291.

"7 Number of Heathens and Infidels.

Here are less Quakers than in many other counties and but very few Indians appear—here are ten families of Jews."[1]

In "A list of persons that have intituled themselves to the benefit of the Act (13 Geo. II.) for naturalizing such Foreign Protestants and others therein mentioned as are settled or that shall settle in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America," appear the following names: Pennsylvania, March 25, 1749, Joseph Simon, a Jew, Lancaster County; Joseph Solomon, Lancaster, a Jew, sworn on the Old Testament.[2]

The following quaint card published by Dr. Isaac Cohen in Lancaster in 1747 is of interest in connection with the Lancaster settlement:

"Dr. Isaac Cohen from Hamburg in Germany, who studied seven years in the City of Copenhagen, informs the public that he has lately arrived in Lancaster, where he intends to practice physic and the art of healing, at the house of John Hatz, inn keeper, at the sign of the Penn. Arms, North Queen Street . . . N. B. Poor persons cured gratis if they can show a certificate from a clergyman that they are really poor. He expects letters addressed to him to be postpaid and those who live at a distance and desire his aid will please send a horse for him."[3]

A directory of the town of Lancaster in 1780 compiled from the assessment roll of that year contains the following names which appear to be those of Jews:

Among shopkeepers: Bernard Jacob, Sampson Lazarus, Andrew Levy, Aaron Levy, Meyer Solomon, Joseph Simon.

Among other Hebrews referred to as residing at Lancaster about the same time are, Levy Marks and Simon Solomon, shopkeeper.[4]

[1] *Penn. Magazine of History and Biog.*, vol. XXIV, p. 475, Jan., 1901.

[2] *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 5, pp. 111 and 117.

[3] Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster Co.*, p. 250.

[4] Christopher Marshall's *Diary of the American Revolution*, kept

The leading figure in the Lancaster settlement was unquestionably Joseph Simon, one of the above named trustees of the cemetery, who has frequently been referred to in various publications.

He came to Lancaster about 1735, according to Markens,[1] and about 1740 according to Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* (p. 18), and soon became one of the most prominent Indian traders and merchants, and one of the largest land-holders in Pennsylvania, in fact in America, —his enterprises extending not only over Pennsylvania, but to Ohio and Illinois and to the Mississippi River.

In the Indian Territory he had an interest in business with Barnard and Michael Gratz, David Franks, Etting, (Robert) Challender, William Trent, Alexander Lowrey and others. He was one of the twenty-two or twenty-three traders attacked by the Indians at Bloody Run in 1763 and lost a large amount of goods.[2]

"Simon's store was the largest in Lancaster and was situated in Penn Square in the center of the town. Levy Andrew Levy was a partner in this store for many years and his (Simon's) sons-in-law, Levi Phillips, Solomon M. Cohen, Simon (which should, according to *American Jewish Historical Society*, Pub. I, p. 122, read Michael) Gratz and Solomon Etting, (1784) who had previously lived in York, Pennsylvania,[3] were also at various periods associated with him. Another son-in-law was Dr. Nicholas Schuyler, of Albany, a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army."[4]

in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution 1774-1781, edited by Wm. Duane, Albany, 1877, at p. 204 under Nov. 8, at p. 208 under Dec. 24, 1778.

[1] *The Hebrews in America*, 1888.

[2] Ellis & Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster Co.*, p. 18; also vol. III., No. 7, p. 165 etc., *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, "Sketch of Joseph Simon" by Samuel Evans.

[3] Markens, p. 80.

[4] Extract from Markens' *The Hebrews in America*, p. 79. See also sketch of Joseph Simon, read before Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc., March 3, 1899, vol. III., No. 7, *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*

In partnership with William Henry, Joseph Simon supplied the Continental army with rifles, ammunition, drums, blankets, provisions and supplies.[1]

Joseph Simon died at the age of ninety-two years on January 24, 1804. Over his grave in the cemetery at Lancaster there is a tombstone bearing inscriptions in both Hebrew and English. Of the former a verbatim copy is given in Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* (p. 471) as follows:

"And Joseph gave up the ghost
and died in a good old age
An old man, and full of years
and was gathered to his people."
"Joseph Simon
Departed this life

the 12th day of the month Shebat, in the year 5565, corresponding with the 24th day of January, 1804, aged 92 years, in a good old age.
"And he walked with God, and he was not; for God took him."

The same work (p. 471) contains the following abstract from the tombstone of Rosa Simon (née Bunn) the wife of Joseph Simon:

"The Body of Mrs. Rosa Simon
wife to
Mr. Joseph Simon
who departed this life
the 3rd day of May, 1796 in
the 69th year of her age."

[1] See "Jews mentioned in the Journal of the Continental Congress," *Am. Jewish Hist. Soc. Pub.*, No. I, pp. 66 and 67, referring to Journals of the Continental Congress, November 2nd, 1775, September 25th, 1776, April 26th, 1777, November 11th, 1777, November 7th, 1778, August 29th, 1778. See also Ellis & Evans, *Hist. of Lancaster Co.*

Near-by is a slab marking the remains of "Rachael Etting (wife of Solomon Etting, already referred to), who departed this life on Jan. 14, 1790."[1]

Solomon Etting is probably the same person referred to by Morais (p. 392–3) as born at York, Pennsylvania, in 1764, and as being "mentioned among the representative citizens who signed an address expressing disapproval of a proposed treaty with Great Britain." Later he "removed to Baltimore and took a considerable part in its municipal affairs, occupying different positions, among them that of a member of its City Council in 1825 and later on president of that body. He died in Baltimore in 1847."

Ellis and Evans' *History of Lancaster County* contains the following note on Solomon Etting:

"An Indian trader, Lodge 43 F. A. M., was granted a warrant April 21, 1785. The lodge was installed by Solomon Etting, a charter member who was at the time a Past Worshipped Master of some other lodge. He was also its first treasurer and was Worshipped Master of the lodge from June 1790 to June 1791."

Besides the three tombstones already adverted to, Ellis and Evans mention but two others in the ancient cemetery at Lancaster, one a small slab bearing a Hebrew inscription, the other a large one, which "bears an inscription apparently in Hebrew, but indecipherable." One of these tombstones marks the remains of Joseph Solomon, who died February 9, 1779, aged sixty-nine years.[2]

Markens states (p. 80) that "on July 5, 1773, the different tribes of the Indian nations in Illinois conveyed to twenty-two residents of Lancaster and of the surrounding Country a tract of land which now embraces the southern half of Illinois. Eight Hebrews were interested in its purchase. They were Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David

[1] *Ib.*, p. 472.
[2] *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 171.

Franks, Barnard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Moses Franks, Jr., Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy."[1]

No mention is found elsewhere than in the above statement of Markens, that either Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David Franks, or Moses Franks, Jr., ever resided in or near Lancaster.[2]

Statements in other records seem on the other hand to indicate their residence in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

Moreover, on account of the vast extent of Joseph Simon's enterprises, it is more likely that his associates or some of them had settled elsewhere than in Lancaster.

Michael Gratz was a brother of Barnard Gratz who settled in Philadelphia. Michael Gratz was born in Langenbach, Upper Silesia, Germany, in 1740. He resided at different times in Lancaster and in Philadelphia, eventually removing to the latter place where he was, in 1791, in partnership with his brother Barnard.[3] He married Miriam, daughter of Joseph Simon of Lancaster, on June 20, 1769. Some of their children held prominent positions in Philadelphia.[4]

Levy Andrew Levy's interest in Joseph Simon's business ceased[5] in 1778, when he and Susanna, his wife, conveyed it to Aaron Levy, also a storekeeper in Lancaster.[6]

Aaron Levy was born in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1742. About 1760 he came to America where he became a prominent land speculator and Indian trader, taking up his resi-

[1] *Pub. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, No. 7, p. 170.

[2] See, in this connection subscription list dated Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 12, 1777, signed by Barnard Gratz, Joseph Simon, Levy Andrew Levy, Levy Marks and Myer Solomon, for the purpose of hiring "one or more proper persons to ride between Lancaster and General Washington's Army with and for intelligence." *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, p. 148.

[3] Morais, p. 25.

[4] Morais. See also *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 121, note by Miriam Gratz Mordecai, a descendant of Michael Gratz.

[5] According to Markens, p. 80.

[6] *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 157.

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dence in the town of Northumberland, Pennsylvania. "His name also appears as a shopkeeper in Lancaster, in the directory of 1780, compiled from the assessment roll of that year.[1] At that time he was a partner of Joseph Simon."[2] During the Revolution Aaron Levy loaned large sums of money to the American colonists.[3] In 1782 he removed to Philadelphia, where he died February 23, 1815, without leaving any issue.

In the list of attorneys of Lancaster County, contained in *An Authentic History of Lancaster County in the State of Pennsylvania*, by J. I. Mombert, D. D.,[4] the names of Sampson Levy, admitted to the bar in 1787, and Joseph Simon Cohen, admitted in 1813, are to be found.

Sampson Levy is very interestingly described in Morais' *Jews of Philadelphia*, (p. 39). He was a younger brother of Moses Levy, a leader of the bar of his time. Both brothers appear to have practiced law in Philadelphia, where they achieved great prominence. Sampson Levy, who is described as a very eccentric personage, became a convert to the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Joseph Simon Cohen is referred to by Morais[5] as having been born between 1788 and 1790. He was a grandson of Joseph Simon of Lancaster. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. On May 24, 1813, he was admitted to the bar in Philadelphia. From 1840 to 1853 he was Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, February 3, 1858.

Michael W. Ash, a member of Congress from 1835 to 1837, serving on the committee on Naval Affairs, who has

[1] Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, pp. 369, 370.

[2] *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 156, etc. Paper on "Aaron Levy," by Mrs. Isabella H. Rosenbach and Abraham S. Wolf Rosenbach of Philadelphia.

[3] Morais, p. 50, note 65 and p. 23.

[4] Published by J. E. Barr, Lancaster, 1869.

[5] *Ib.*, pp. 412, 432.

been frequently referred to as a Jew,[1] was a gentile as the writer has recently been informed by Dr. Cyrus Adler, who has his information from former acquaintances of Michael W. Ash.

As indicating the support of the American cause by Jewish residents, it is interesting to note that one, Joshua Isaacs took the Oath of Allegiance at Lancaster, as shown by the subjoined copy of the certificate to that effect.[2]

Joshua Isaacs was a descendant of one of the early Portuguese Jewish settlers in this country, his father having also been born on this continent. Joshua Isaacs married Brandly Lazarus at Lancaster on March 28, 1781. Their first child, Frances, was born at Lancaster June 9, 1783, and subsequently married Harmon Hendricks at New York City, to which place Joshua Isaacs had removed shortly after 1783.

The late Lewis I. Cohen, of Philadelphia, who was born at Lancaster in 1800, often related that his father, Joseph Cohen, who in 1766 at the age of twenty-one came to Philadelphia, was in the Revolutionary army and on guard in Philadelphia the night Lord Cornwallis was captured, October 19, 1781.[3]

I have been unable thus far to find any records showing the existence of a permanent synagogue or of a regular Jewish congregational organization at Lancaster, at the time of its early settlement. For a search for such records I am indebted to the Rev. Isidore Rosenthal of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Nor does there appear to be any tradition of the existence of any such building or congregation in Lancaster proper, though there is no doubt that regular

[1] Lewis Abraham's on the American Jew as a Politician in *American Jews' Annual*, 1888; also *Am. Jewish Year Book*, 1900-1901, p. 517; Markens, p. 184.

[2] See Appendix II.

[3] The information contained in this statement was given to the writer by Miss Mary M. Cohen of Philadelphia.

religious services were held in a sort of private synagogue maintained in the house of Joseph Simon. A portion of the ark used in this private synagogue has recently been presented to the American Jewish Historical Society.

A clause in the will of Joseph Simon provided that the "silver plate used for religious worship" in his family and two scrolls of the law were to remain in the family of the testator's son-in-law and executor, Levi Phillips, during the latter's lifetime after which they were bequeathed to the Philadelphia synagogue.[1]

It is extremely unlikely that this residuary bequest would have been made to the Philadelphia synagogue had there been a permanent Jewish house of worship in Lancaster at that time.

The fact, that many of the Jews of Lancaster were among the supporters of the congregation Mikvé Israel of Philadelphia, is also an indication that they had no local synagogue.

Nor is there any mention of a synagogue at Lancaster in the lists of houses of worship at the time of which we speak.[2]

However, in a letter dated Lancaster, March 17, 1789, indorsed "Rough Draft of Letter to Senators and Representatives in Congress respecting the Permanent Residence of Congress," it was stated that "there are seven places of Public Worship, besides a temporary Synagogue" in the Borough of Lancaster.[3]

It should also be noted, that in the "Statistics of the Jews of the United States" published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, September, 1880, there is a statement that in 1776 a congregation was organized at Lancaster.

As has already been pointed out, none of the five sons-

[1] Markens, p. 82.

[2] See list of churches in Lancaster, Pa., by Sherman Day in *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania* (1843).

[3] II. *Historical Register: Notes and Queries*, No. 1, pp. 301-302.

in-law of Joseph Simon took up a permanent residence in Lancaster. It is more than likely that their families had already removed from there before Joseph Simon's demise. Markens states that after the latter event these five families removed to Philadelphia, (p. 82). The two sons left by Joseph Simon appear to have been weak-minded.

According to Markens (p. 82)[1] no interment took place in the Jewish cemetery at Lancaster after 1804, until 1855, shortly before which date a new Jewish influx to Lancaster took place, giving rise to the present Jewish community.

It thus seems, that the early Jewish settlement of Lancaster, after an existence of more than half a century, disappeared as a community leaving no known official records other than the above-mentioned cemetery deed.

The old Jewish cemetery at Lancaster came into the possession of the congregation Shaaray Shomayim (Gates of Heaven) soon after its organization by residents of Lancaster and the vicinity, on February 25, 1855. This congregation was incorporated on May 4, 1856. On September 22, 1867, its synagogue was dedicated.[2]

The old burying-ground has been fenced in and the inner enclosure thereof divided into two parts by a gravel walk. The eastern section is kept undisturbed, and no burials are made there.[3]

The *Occident* (Vol. 13, No. 7, p. 368) of October, 1855, referring to the organization at that time of the Congregation Shaaray Shomayim, counting about sixty souls—men, women and children—states that Jacob Herzog, its president, who had "supplied the synagogue at an expense of about seven hundred ($700.00) dollars, contributed to the burying-ground (which, having belonged to the ancient Jewish in-

[1] See also Ellis & Evans' *History of Lancaster County.*

[2] See article from the *Examiner* of Lancaster in vol. 43, No. 12, *Am. Israelite*, Sept. 17, 1896.

[3] Ellis & Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 471, (1883).

habitants, who had long since either moved away or died out, had fallen into unauthorized hands, he had secured again for its former object, at great trouble and after much vexation) full three hundred ($300.00) dollars." This article refers to the former hospitality of the "family of Joseph Simon, many of whose descendants reside in Philadelphia and elsewhere, though none live any more at Lancaster."

Ellis and Evans write: "The cemetery is cared for through the agency of the Phillips, Cohn, Gratz and other families of Philadelphia, Richmond and New York, whose ancestors are believed to be buried there."[1]

In a communication to the *Jewish Exponent*[2] Mr. Monroe B. Hirsch, of Lancaster, states that "it is due to the generous response in 1884 of the late Horace Moses, a great-grandson of Joseph Simon, to the late Herman Hirsch, then president of the congregation (Shaaray Shomayim), that the steps were taken which to-day enable us to pride ourselves upon the excellent condition of the ancient cemetery. It is . . . adorned by many handsome monuments to the dead of the past two generations as well as those of the eighteenth century."

In a recent work by Julius Friedrich Sachse, entitled, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 1708-1742, (Phila., 1899), in Chapter IX, a potent influence on the religious rights and customs of the New Dunkers of the Conestoga, a regular corporate body of the German Baptist Brethren, from December, 1724, in the vicinity of Lancaster, is ascribed to the Jewish settlements, including that of which we have been speaking.

It is well known that religious discussions were rife among the German Christian settlers in Pennsylvania. The leader of the New Dunkers was Conrad Beissel. One of the customs of this sect was the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath. From this custom it was argued, that if it was

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 471.
[2] Vol. 25, No. 11, whole No. 534, July 2, 1897.

proper to follow the Scriptures in this regard, they should be followed in general, and so many of these sectarians refused to eat pork, or to eat other food which had been cooked in vessels in which pork had ever been kept, and otherwise insisted on obedience to the Mosaic law—giving rise to the report that Beissel and his adherents were really attempting to revive Judaism.

Mr. Sachse does not ascribe this return to Jewish customs to the reading of the Scriptures alone, but to contact of the German Christian settlers, "whose reason was almost dethroned by religious excitement," with the Jewish traders, "who had sojourned in the vicinity of Schaefferstown (about twenty miles north of Lancaster) as far back as 1720." Mr. Sachse does not state whence these Jewish traders came, but expresses the belief that the pioneers came without their families, with no intention of settling, but merely to barter, and that they were not numerous enough to form a distinctive settlement or congregation, until some time later, when some Jewish traders, married and settled down, are found.

Mr. Sachse goes on to state (*Ib.*, p. 117) that as a result of the intercourse with these Jewish settlers, "several German (Christian) families in the old township of Heidelberg actually returned to the old dispensation, and with these accessions quite a Jewish community was formed in Lancaster County. It was not long before a house of prayer was built by them; . . . it was the first synagogue in the American desert. It was built on the old Indian trail leading from the Conestoga to the Swatara. The place where this synagogue stood—the first in Pennsylvania—is still pointed out by old residents. It was a rude log-house, locally known as the Schul." The site of the Schul is now occupied by a modern house. An ancient log-house is still pointed out as having formerly been the home of the hazan or reader of what Mr. Sachse refers to as "at one time the most distinctive and populous congregation of the ancient faith in the colonies."

To continue quoting from Mr. Sachse's interesting work, pp. 117-8:

"The claim that this Jewish congregation was recruited by proselytes from among the early settlers is strengthened by the fact that but few Jewish names—such as Isaac Miranda—appear among those of the settlers in the vicinity. Nor do either the Ephrata records or those sent to Holland by Boehm make reference to any number of Jews in the vicinity. The same is true of the Lutheran and Reformed reports; they all, however, make reference to the fact that Judaizing influences were rampant among the early settlers. (Vide Muhlenberg, *Hallische Nachrichten.*)"

"Then, again, a majority of names, whose owners are known to have been members of the congregation and rest upon the hill, were originally of the Jewish faith."

Traces of the above-mentioned Jewish customs are still found among the families of old settlers in Berks, Lebanon and Lancaster counties.[1]

The old Jewish cemetery, established about 1732, near Schaefferstown, now in Heidelberg Township, Lebanon county but originally in Lancaster county, is now almost if not completely obliterated.[2]

The substantial stone wall which surrounded this cemetery, a plot about 60 by 30 feet in size, was, according to Charles M. Zerbe, Esq., of Schaefferstown, still standing as late as 1863.

However, the evidence of the existence of a synagogue at Schaefferstown appears to be altogether traditional.

The Schaefferstown settlement is also referred to in Rupp's *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties*, published 1844.

[1] Sachse, p. 118.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 119. Vol. 25, No. 11, *Jewish Exponent*, July 2, 1897. Article by Monroe B. Hirsch.

APPENDIX I.

COPY OF DEED FOR JEWISH CEMETERY IN LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA—1747.

Thomas Cookson, et ux.
to
Isaac Nunus Ricus.

This indenture made the third day of February in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, between Thomas Cookson, of the Borough of Lancaster, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Esq., and Margaret, his wife, of the one part, and Isaac Nunus Ricus, of the same place, merchant, of the other part, Witnesseth, that the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, for the consideration of the sum of six pounds, current money of the Province aforesaid, to them in hand, paid by the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, at and before the ensealing and delivery hereof, the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be therewith well content, fully satisfied and paid, and thereof, and every part thereof, do exonerate, release and discharge the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, have granted, bargained and sold, aliened, released and confirmed and by these presents do for themselves and their heirs fully, freely and absolutely grant, bargain and sell, alien, release and confirm unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons and to their heirs and assigns forever, all that certain piece or parcel of ground situated in the Township of Lancaster, in the said County, bounded as follows, viz: Beginning at a corner post in a lane Between Michael Meyer's and Mr. James Hamilton's land and extending thence by the said James Hamilton's land North forty-six degrees; West ten perches, thence North forty-four degrees; east by other lands of the said Thomas Cookson eight perches, thence forty-six degrees, East ten perches, thence South forty-four degrees; West by

the lane eight perches to the place of beginning, containing half an acre, together with all and singular the preme thereto belong or in any wise appertaining and the estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever as well in law as equity of them, the said Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, of, in and to the said half acre of land and Premes thereto belonging and the revertion and revertions, remainder and remainders of the said half acre of land which half acre of land is part of a lot or piece of ground which was granted to the said Thomas Cookson by James Hamilton, Esq., by indenture bearing date the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-three; to have and to hold the said piece of ground above described with the appurtenances unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, for ever In Trust for the Society of Jews settled in and about Lancaster, to have and use the same as a burying ground. And the said Margaret, his wife, doth covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, that he, the said Thomas Cookson, and his heirs, and all and every other person and persons, and his and their heirs and thing having or claiming on the premises above mentioned, by, from or under him shall, and will, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, upon the reasonable request, and at the proper cost and charges of the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs or assigns, make, do, and execute, or cause, procure to be made, done, and executed all and every such further and other lawfull and reasonable act and acts, thing and things, device and devices, conveyances and assurances in the law whatsoever for the further, better and more perfect granting, conveying and assuring the said premises with the appurtenances unto the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs and assigns, for the use aforesaid, as by the said Isaac Nunus Ricus and Joseph Simons, their heirs or assigns, or their, or either of their

councel, learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, or advised and required. In Witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Sealed and Delivered in Presence of Us. THO. COOKSON. [Seal.] MARGARET COOKSON. [Seal.]

DAVID HOUL—CONRAD WEISER.

Memorandum, That on the day of July, A. D. 1747, before me, the subscriber, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, came Thomas Cookson and Margaret, his wife, the grantors within named, and acknowledged the due execution of the within deed. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year above said.

Recorded this day of June 1747. Recorder.

The above instrument was recorded in the Recorder's Office of Lancaster County in Record Book B., p. 441, etc., June 29, 1747.

APPENDIX II.

Lancaſter County, ss. I DO hereby certify, that Joshua Isaacs late an Inhabitant of the Island of Granada hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity, as directed by an Act of General Aſſembly, passed the Thirteenth Day of June 1777, and a further Supplement to the same, passed the fifth Day of December 1778. WITNESS my Hand and Seal, this Twentieth Day of February Anno Domini 1781.

(L. S.)

PAUL ZANTZINGER.

Copied December 19, 1900, from original in the possession of Gustavus Isaacs, Esq., of New York, the grandson of said Joshua Isaacs.

JEWS AND THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT. II.

By Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

In a previous paper on this subject which appeared in No. 5 of the *Publications*, the present writer gathered some material that may prove of use to the historian of the future who may deal with this interesting theme. The incidents then presented were not exhaustive nor complete, and the purpose of the present paper is to slightly supplement the former one, in the hope that others may be induced to set forth further incidents bearing upon this subject that have come under their notice. It is but proper to state again, at the outset, that the subject matter of the valiant work, done by Jews in common with their non-Jewish brethren after the Civil War began, has been so thoroughly treated by our fellow-member, Hon. Simon Wolf, that no attempt will be made here to deal with any incidents that occurred after the war broke out.

In the former paper reference was made to the fact that Jewish settlers, in America and elsewhere, commonly kept slaves where such was the custom among the people in whose midst they dwelt. How largely that was true of America is clearly shown by a little book on Jamaica, entitled *The Jamaica Almanack for the Year* 1826, in which the residents of Jamaica outside of Kingston are enumerated. We find that it was not any more uncommon for the many Jewish residents there listed, to be enumerated as possessors of a number of slaves, than was the case with non-Jews.

But even at this time the slavery era was rapidly coming to a close in all the British colonial possessions, including Jamaica. The British Parliament, after many years of

anti-slavery agitation, transformed the status of all slaves in English possessions into an apprenticeship for a limited term of years, which would have expired in 1840, but two years previous to that date, the Jamaica Colonial Assembly, recognizing that on account of this Parliamentary interference, the institution was doomed, passed a law by which this apprenticeship would terminate in Jamaica on August 1, 1838. We learn from a Jamaica correspondent's letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, published in 1838 (vol. II, p. 443) that a Jewish resident of Jamaica was the first one on the island to liberate his slaves, for he celebrated Queen Victoria's Coronation Day, on June 28, 1838, by assembling his slaves, and forthwith giving them their freedom. Even though we may not be disposed to concede this claim to priority, advanced in favor of this Jewish resident, Mr. Daniel Hart of Bowden, the incident is not undeserving of attention. That it attracted considerable notice in Jamaica at the time, is apparent from the long account of it which the *Allgemeine Zeitung* reprinted from the *Jamaica Despatch and Kingston Chronicle* of July 6, 1838, in which special stress was placed upon Mr. Hart's Jewish faith. Possibly the incident has more significance for us to-day because of Mr. Hart's thoughtful and humane method of solving the problem as to the best disposition to make of the emancipated slave, than on account of his anticipation of the law by but a little over a month and his offer to pay the ex-slaves for their labor, from this earlier day, in accordance with the scale of wages to be promulgated. Thus, we note that Mr. Hart expressly made provision at his own expense for the housing and maintenance for the future of the blind, sick or infirm among his former slaves. Moreover, he directed the discontinuance of the terms of inferiority which had been part of the hateful former system, such as driver of slaves, etc. He pointedly called the attention of his ex-slaves to all the bearings and scope of their emancipation, and advised them to turn for guidance and advice to their Christian pas-

tor, Rev. James Atkins, and reminded them that their emancipation throughout the islands must be regarded as the work of God, and not of men. Still more suggestive are his directions and advice to them as to the education of their children; he recommended that they should send their children to school at least three days per week, and announced that if they wished to have their children perform light labor upon the property during the other three days, he would be willing to give them suitable compensation for their labor. Rev. Mr. Atkins, in remarks which he made on the same occasion, commented on the fact that the initiative in this matter was taken by one of the Jewish faith, a suggestive contrast to the circumstance that certain Christian churches on the island contented themselves with constant boasts about their philanthropy. It should also be remembered that Sir Moses Montefiore rendered valiant services in the cause of emancipation in British dominions and that his name figured prominently, both as a liberal donor and an active co-worker, on anti-slavery society lists.

Closely in line with this, is the emancipation of the slaves effected by the French Assembly of 1848, in France's colonial possessions. Here we once more encounter in an unanticipated connection, the heroic figure of that great Jewish champion of the 19th century, Isaac Adolphe Cremieux. As a member of the Provisional Government of France of 1848, occupying the position of Minister of Justice, he addressed a committee of West India delegates in that year, who came to thank the French Government for this act of emancipation. Cremieux, on behalf of the Cabinet, addressed them in French, saying in the course of his speech:

"I am happy to hail you in the name of the Provisional Government of the Republic, every part of which has entertained the great thought of emancipating such of your fellow countrymen as still remain in slavery—SLAVERY, SLAVERY in the midst of liberty. Why, this is the most odious, the most afflicting inconsistency! Distinctions

between men! This is a violation of the law of both God and Man. We have only proclaimed the principles which dwell in the heart of all mankind. Yes, the national convention, that grand, that immortal assembly, had restored you all to freedom, but the error of a great man again placed you under the yoke which you had believed was broken forever. You shall again become free. There shall no longer be a slave on the soil of liberty. In our Colonies as well as in Continental France, every man who inhabits that land shall be free. . . . . And when slavery shall have disappeared, our descendants will exclaim with pride: 'It was to the Revolution of 1848 that the final abolition of slavery was due.'" [1]

In my previous paper, I referred to Cremieux's eloquent address before the General Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, neld at London, which directed its efforts particularly at emancipation in America. His remarks were so forcible, and present such an interesting outline of the relations of Judaism to emancipation, that it will not be out of place to append his address to this paper. Strangely enough, Cremieux's anti-slavery labors have escaped the attention of his Jewish biographers, although he himself so strongly emphasized the connection between Jewish emancipation and the emancipation of the negro slave. (See Appendix.)

Coming next to the United States, we may with propriety observe that the antagonism or aloofness on the part of many American Jews to or from anti-slavery agitation was due to love for the Union, and fear of its disruption, to which the Abolitionist propaganda at one time threatened to lead, rather than to any sympathy for slavery. Such, for instance, was the principal motive of a long article on the "American Jews and Slavery," written by Dr. S. Waterman for the *Asmonean* and reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in 1851, (Vol. 15, p. 311), although the writer

[1] My thanks are due to Mr. Leon Hühner for this reference to Cremieux.

did not fail to enlarge also upon the alleged divine recognition of slavery in Holy Writ, along the lines subsequently pursued by Rev. Dr. Raphall in utterances heretofore considered. It is interesting to observe that a more humane as well as more scientific exposition of the relations of Judaism to slavery was published by Dr. M. Mielziner, in German, before the Civil War. The scholarly paper, from his pen on this subject printed in the *American Jews' Annual* for 1886, had been published in Copenhagen and Leipzig as early as 1859. In 1861, it was translated and published in two installments in the *American Theological Review*, (vol. III, pp. 232, 423), the editors of the *Review* stating that "for our knowledge of it we are indebted to Francis Lieber, LL.D., who speaks of it as 'a work of startling merit, of candor and of simplicity.'"

In my earlier paper, I had occasion to refer to the eminent services of Dr. David Einhorn and of Michael Heilprin in refuting Dr. Raphall's contention by historical, theological and scientific arguments in Jewish as well as in non-sectarian newspapers. Recently, a further incident as to Michael Heilprin's personal activity in combating the pro-slavery arguments on the political platform in the ante-bellum period, has been ably set forth in an excellent biographical sketch of Michael Heilprin, written by Julius Stern, of Philadelphia, from which the following paragraph is taken:

"Towards the end of the fifties when public opinion was crystallizing on the impending war issue, Philadelphia was the scene of a conflict whose bitterness can better be imagined than described. Party feeling had reached the boiling point when one evening Carpenter's Hall was appropriated for the use of the Anti-Slavery Democrats. The speaker on this occasion, all enthusiastic, was convincing his auditors of the justice of their cause when he was suddenly interrupted by the hoots and jeers of a crowd of hoodlums representing the 'Copperheads,' who entirely unobserved had entered the

meeting. Quick as a flash, in this moment of uproar, an unknown man rose from one of the front rows in the audience. Every eye was upon him. In breathless excitement he mounted his chair, and in the most vigorous German, reinforced by a remarkable eloquence, delivered such a bitter tirade against the methods of the opposition as to make him at once the object of the mob's resentment. He was immediately surrounded, severely assaulted, and was about to be rushed bodily out of the hall, when Dr. Edward Morwitz organized his friends upon the platform, made one grand united effort at rescue, and succeeded in tearing him away from the clutches of the angry mob. That man, that hero in the conflict for truth and justice, was Michael Heilprin."[1]

It is not strange that a peace-loving scholar, who felt so strongly on this subject, should have hurried to the intellectual and scientific defense of Judaism soon after, against the charge of sanctioning and ordaining slavery.

We may include among anti-slavery champions, also a distinguished Jewish son of the South, who in later years became one of the leaders of the bar of the Pacific Coast, and for a number of years occupied a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, of California: Solomon Heydenfelt. As far back as 1849, while residing in Alabama, Mr. Heydenfelt published "A Communication on the subject of slave immigration addressed to the Hon. Reuben Chapman, Governor of Alabama," in which he proposed an amendment to the State Constitution to prohibit the further immigration of slaves into the State of Alabama. Whether his views on this subject had any influence upon his leaving Alabama is not clear, but it is certain that he migrated to California about a year after his pamphlet was published. Here he

[1] "The Julius Stern" prize essay in the Y. M. H. A., competition published in the *Jewish Exponent*, October 27, 1899, Mr. Stern advises me that he carefully investigated this incident, and that it is based upon statements made to him by Mr. Louis E. Levy and Mr. David Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Julius Goldman, of New York.

soon became the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate, and was nearly elected, the Legislature being compelled to adjourn after 142 futile ballots. At the next session a compromise candidate was chosen. In 1851, he was elected a Judge of the State Supreme Court; he resigned this position to enter upon the practice of law in 1857. It is interesting to observe his strength of convictions and purpose, as indicated by his refusal to take the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty prescribed for lawyers by the State Legislature in 1862. This debarred him from practising before the state courts, and compelled him to give up most important cases, including one in which he refunded, in consequence, a retainer of $25,000. The act prescribing this oath was probably one of the kind subsequently declared to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. It is to be hoped that Judge Heydenfelt's career will in the near future receive adequate attention from the student of American Jewish History.[1]

Among the American Jewish ministers whose sympathies and whose private aid and support as well as vote were with the anti-slavery movement from a comparatively early date, was Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs. He was well acquainted with prominent anti-slavery men such as Prof. C. E. Stowe, the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Rev. Dr. Tyng, of New York and others, frequently expressed his sympathy with the efforts to emancipate the slaves, and voted for the anti-slavery candidate, in 1856. He did not preach anti-slavery sermons, yielding to the outcry against "politics in the pulpit," but was recognized as a warm advocate of liberty, and wrote unreservedly in favor of the Union and the Lincoln policy at the beginning of the Civil War, a time when there was considerable public indecision. At the

[1] *Am. Hist. Ass. Report for* 1897, p. 978. See also for biographical sketches of Heydenfelt, *Bench and Bar of California*, by Oscar T. Shuck, I, 79–85; *Pacific Jewish Annual*, No. 3, for 5657, pp. 62–5, (accompanied by portrait.)

public exercises held in New York City, in Union Square in memory of President Lincoln in 1865, he was selected as one of the two ministers to participate in the religious exercises. We quote the following passage from an obituary notice of Rev. S. M. Isaacs, which appeared in the *Reformer and Jewish Times*, of May 24, 1878:

"During the war, Mr. Isaacs came out boldly in the *Messenger* (his paper), as a champion of the North, and bitterly denounced the institution of slavery. This action lost him nearly all his Southern subscribers, but he continued his attacks nevertheless, saying in one of his editorials, with characteristic plainness of speech: 'We want subscribers, for without them we cannot publish a paper, and Judaism needs an organ; but we want much more truth and loyalty, and for them we are ready, if we must, to sacrifice all other considerations.'"

In July, 1862, Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal contributed an impassioned article to the monthly *Sinai* (a reprint from the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of June 6) in which he showed that the sympathy of Jews with the cause of slavery was by no means as general as was supposed. Moreover, he makes mention of the active anti-slavery workers in the border states: Bernays of St. Louis, editor of the *Western Advertiser*, M. Friedi and Isidore Bush of the same place, and Louis N. Dembitz of Louisville, a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated Lincoln.

As mentioned in my previous article on this subject (*Publications*, No. 5, p. 153) former Judge Abram J. Dittenhoefer was one of the early anti-slavery workers. Before he reached his majority he was a frequent speaker at anti-slavery meetings during the Fremont campaign. A potent influence in inducing him to play this active part was the speech of Senator Wade in the United States Senate, in March 1858, in which, in reply to a speech of Judah P. Benjamin, he denounced the Jews for their pro-slavery views. (*Con-*

gressional Globe, 1st session, 35th Cong., p. 1115.) In 1864 Mr. Dittenhoefer was one of the Republican Presidential Electors from New York.

It is to be hoped that the anti-slavery efforts of many of the other Jews, resident in this country prior to the war, will find their way into print in accessible channels.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION (1840).

M. Cremieux then addressed the Convention in French, which Dr. Bowring thus translated:

"I cannot express to you, gentlemen, the emotions which I feel at this moment, the most overpowering feelings penetrate my heart, and entirely overcome me. First, I feel the most profound admiration for those English customs and manners which have given to the spirit of association such irresistible power of proclaiming its objects nobly, and in the face of the world—objects the most liberal and most worthy of the enlightened age that has approved and adopted them, a spirit of association, which our laws, I am sorry to say, prohibit, to the sorrow and despair of all those generous men, who in France called loudly for the abolition of such restrictive enactments. I feel almost overpowered by the thought that an Israelite should appear in this assembly, where he has been received with so much favor, to demand with enthusiasm equal to yours, the abolition of slavery. All liberties are united, and all persecutions are associated. Persecute, and you will make slaves; proclaim the equality of all, and you will create citizens. It is thus that your O'Connell, (whom we should envy to England, if the glory of England at this moment was not amalgamated with that of France in this great work) in demanding complete equality for Ireland, proclaimed at the same time the principles of

humanity and justice, and has rendered for the future all persecution impossible against men who conquered equality for themselves.

* * * * * * * *

"I feel great pleasure in joining this Convention, because I am a descendant of those Hebrews who were first to proclaim the abolition of slavery; and I this day only repeat what the Jews have always admitted in principle. Indeed, it is not without interest that I now recall to your recollection, that it was the sect of the Essenes which first declared slavery to be a crime, and that it was, to use the expression of Josephus, a perpetual cause of perturbation for the State. In this assembly this must entitle them to the highest glory; and I may add, that Jesus Christ himself, considered as a great legislator and moralist, has derived the principles of Christian charity from the mild and pure rules of the sect of the Essenes. And yet, these very Jews, who proclaimed the abolition of slavery, who have conferred on Christianity one of the most worthy titles to glory; these very Jews have themselves, in more recent times, been held as slaves even in Christian countries. What emotions must I not experience, in coming here to join my voice to those which are raised to demand the abolition of slavery! And permit me, without digressing from the subject of my discourse, to add, that the Jews were the first to abolish human sacrifices, and to turn away with horror from the shedding human blood in their religious ceremonies; and yet, at this moment in the East, in those very countries in which their religion—the basis of every other—was first proclaimed, a horrible calumny, resuscitated from the barbarian ages of the West, accuses them of shedding Christian blood as a matter of religious duty, to moisten the unleavened bread of the Passover. It is true—and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it—that in this country, civilized England, the nation, the press, the government, have shown themselves indignant at this base calumny; and I perceive, from the approbation

which you now manifest, that you repudiate it with the contempt it deserves. Yes, persecution engenders slavery. Yes, all persecutions are akin to one another, and this was well understood by that venerable Bishop Gregoire, who, while he raised his voice in favor of the emancipation of the blacks, at the same time demanded the emancipation of the Jews. Well, in this assembly of Christians, here is a Jew who demands for the blacks the complete abolition of slavery. His enthusiasm is equal to yours; and his words have been listened to by you with the truest sympathy. Besides, is there a cause more worthy of public favor? When God created the first man and woman, after he had laid the foundation of a future society, in these words 'Increase and multiply,' he said to man,—displaying the whole of nature before him—'This is thy patrimony, this is thy kingdom; earth and all its animals are submitted to thy power.' But where do we find that the Creator has said, 'upon this earth which I deliver over to thee, two races of men shall exist at the same time, the one, absolute and master, because he has a white skin; the other, a slave and obedient, because he has a black one. Two classes of the same creature shall be spread over the earth; the one, shall be called the class of the oppressors; the other the class of the oppressed. All shall possess the same life, and the same breath of life shall animate your bodies; but among you, the one class shall cast the other's fetters, and shall sell their brethren in the public markets as brute beasts?' The slavery of man by man is a perpetual crime against humanity. Cast far from you those absurd accusations which would degrade one part of creation. Persecutors are ever fertile in arguments to give a color to their oppression. The blacks, say they, are of a degraded nature, their degenerate race can never be raised to an equality with us, they cannot understand liberty, a maxim as false as it is immoral. It is slavery which degrades human nature, because liberty is its law, its patrimony. Instead of keeping the blacks in a state of degradation, open

for them the career which Providence has given to all men; raise them to an equality with yourselves, and they well know how to preserve their level. Slavery occasions vice—it is not vice that is the cause of slavery. Would you wish an historical example in proof of this? Look at the country of the arts, of civilization, of letters. Look at Greece. Oh, how noble, how grand was she in her sacred times of liberty! What has she become in a state of servitude? Say, can you recognize in the Greek slave the descendant of Leonidas or Pericles? Abolish slavery, proclaim equality, it is a noble and glorious mission. This glory, this mission, henceforth, belongs to the alliance of two great nations, who, long divided by war, are now united in the cause of the civilization of the world. With what éclat will the words of England and of France be received by the nations of the world! How sublimely have they been already re-echoed from that very continent of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks; and where so many generous hearts attend only to the sacred interests of humanity! See with what transport their representatives unite themselves in this Hall, to their brethren of England and France. Yes, we shall attain this glorious object by our holy alliance. I say not this from vanity, but from a just and honorable and proud confidence. It is an incontrovertible truth. To the united will of France and England proclaiming the equality of mankind, who could now resist? To the united will of France and England proclaiming the abolition of human slavery, what power could oppose an obstacle? Here I pause. I will not trespass further on the attention you have so kindly accorded to me, and I shall ever consider as the happiest day of my existence, that in which I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in such an assembly as the present. I shall dwell with delight on the recollection; from this moment my life will acquire in my own eyes more consistency and more real importance than it has ever hereunto possessed."

ISAAC LEVY'S CLAIM TO PROPERTY IN GEORGIA.[1]

By Herbert Friedenwald, Ph. D., *Philadelphia.*

Jews in America during the colonial time were not often in position to have claims against government of sufficient importance to warrant taking appeals to the King in Council. The case of Rabba Couty[2] and that of the subject of this sketch are the only ones that have come under the writer's notice. Isaac Levy, however, adopted an irregular course, appealing first to the King, and being directed back to the colonial courts. He knew that redress would in the first instance be denied him in Georgia, because one of the principals involved was no less a person than the Governor himself. Consequently he thought to obtain justice by having recourse to an unusual method, but one which might none the less result in drawing such attention to his case as would, he hoped, result in favorable action being taken. If only for the reason that he was the principal in an appeal to the King, Isaac Levy is deserving of more than a passing notice. According to his own statement, he was born in New York city early in the 18th century. Following the occupation of merchant and trader, he remained there until 1752, when he went to London. He was naturalized under the general Act of 1740, on November 18, of that year. He was closely associated in business with David Franks, and in London counted among his

[1] This account is based on material among the manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and copies of the journals and papers of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in the Public Record Office, London.

[2] See *Publication*, No. 5, pp. 52 ff.

intimates the latter's brother, Moses. In London he continued his mercantile career and in one of his memorials, dated 1767, states that during the fifteen years he has been a resident of London "as a merchant of reputation" he has "paid great sums of money to the revenue as duties on merchandize and has otherwise been a useful member of the community." Apparently he prospered until 1754. In October of that year, in London, he was brought into contact with one Thomas Bosomworth, (sometimes referred to as the Reverend Thomas), and with Mary, his wife. Bosomworth had been an Indian agent in South Carolina and Georgia for some years before that date, and profiting by his opportunities had married Cousaponakusa, "the rightful and Natural Princess of the Upper and Lower Creek Nations." Presumably, the difficulty found in the pronunciation of her name led him to change it to the more prosaic Mary, and henceforth Cousaponakusa appears as Mary.

By formal treaty in 1747, confirmed by the whole nation of Creeks in 1750, the islands of Osaba, Sapola and St. Katharine's on the coast of Georgia—and now known to fame as the Sea Islands, where a particularly fine grade of cotton is raised—were conveyed to Bosomworth and his wife.

In London in October, 1754, for certain considerations among them an advance of £300, plus £200 to be paid out of the first returns from the development of the property, Bosomworth conveyed to Isaac Levy a half interest in the three islands above named.

As soon thereafter as the latter could depart, he set sail for America in order to develop his new property. But he found some difficulty in accomplishing this, owing to the interference with his plans by the outbreak of the war with France in 1756. At the end of that and beginning of the following year, we may note in passing, that he is to be found in Philadelphia, and communicates with Bosomworth through the medium of Mr. Minis, of Savannah.

Bosomworth, grown restive and impecunious, and seeing

an opportunity to take advantage of Levy in his absence, at the end of 1758, offered to sell to the crown, Osaba and Sapola Islands in consideration of being paid £3000, and having the other island, St. Katharine's, confirmed to him. At the same time he prayed to be indemnified against any claim Levy might make.

The indemnification Governor Ellis refused to consider. But after some further negotiations in July, 1759, an agreement was entered into, whereby Bosomworth was to be granted the island of St. Katharine's and some other property near Savannah, in perpetuity, in consideration for his ceding the other two islands to Governor Ellis, for the crown, and receiving therefore £2100, if they brought that much at auction. They were accordingly advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette*, (No. 1302) to be sold at Savannah, on December 4, 1759.

From the perusal of this advertisement, Levy, then in Philadelphia, received his first intimation of the proposed disposition of his property. He immediately, on September 13, 1759, inserted an advertisement in the papers warning intending purchasers of his claim to a half share in the property, and that he would immediately petition the King for redress. Levy's notice to the governor resulted in postponing the sale for a time. But it finally took place early the next year, and in April, 1760, the island of St. Katharine's and £2050 (the amount realized by the sale of the other two islands) were made over to Bosomworth, in return for which he conveyed the other two islands to Governor Ellis for the crown. Levy immediately took the steps he had threatened. At the end of the year, 1759, he presented his first memorial to the King, setting forth his grievances as stated above and praying for relief. In January, 1760, this was considered by the Privy Council, and the case was before them a number of times during this, and the beginning of the following year. In the meantime, Levy gave his agents in Georgia directions to institute proceedings against

the persons in possession of the islands. But because of the high official involved, could obtain no lawyer to take up his case and enter suit for him.

Returning to England, in 1762, he employed the best counsel obtainable, and one opinion favorable to his claims, dated 1762, was rendered by no less a person than Joseph Galloway, at that time agent in London for the Colony of Pennsylvania. Between that time and 1764 he presented several additional petitions. The replies he received, were to the effect that inasmuch as this was a question of property and not of "prudential and political considerations," the matter, despite the hardship occasioned him, could not be considered by the Council in the first instance, but that the case must first be tried in Georgia, from whose courts an appeal might lie to the King in Council. He now tried again to obtain redress in Georgia, but again failing, he resorted to petition once more. In August, 1767, he prays that either his share of the islands be returned to him or he be granted an equivalent in the West Indies or a coal mine in Cape Breton. In February, 1768, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations returned to the Council the same reply as had been previously made, yet they added: "As it does appear to us that a valuable consideration was actually given by the said Levy to these people, so far, it must be acknowledged, that the petitioner's is a Case of Hardship, and for this reason, should he be inclined totally, to relinquish his Pretensions, it will then be . . . to determine . . . to take such part of his Petition into Consideration, wherein he prays for some Mark of His Majesty's Bounty;" and though they thought this could not be granted in the way Levy proposed, "yet," they added, "upon some less exceptional proposal, your Lordships may probably think fit to recommend him to the Royal Favour, in Consideration of his Losses, though not by way of Compensation for his Rights."

Catching at this straw Levy, now in desperation, makes

an additional plea for the coal mine of Cape Breton. He proceeds to answer any objections that may be made to this grant on the ground, that if coal is produced at a moderate price in America it will enable America to rival England in the manufacture of iron, by showing that the Act of Parliament of 1750 prohibits the further creation of slitting mills, and that moreover the price of labor in America is so high as to render any extensive production and competition with England impossible. He adds, "that opening the Coal mine at Cape Breton will tend to the advantage of Great Britain, because it will enable many ships that sail from England to America w^{ch} now proceed in ballast (especially to South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland) to load coal and thereby making a tolerable freight which now they cannot do because coals are not valuable except in small quantitys (in Capital towns) to blacksmiths, and in the interior towns charcoal is substituted in the place thereof. Your memorialist apprehends that as soon as the Americans find the advantage of burning coal they will certainly prefer it to wood in most places because it will be less expensive, and has many other advantages which is only wanting to give it the preference. . . .

"Your Memorialist begs leave to y^{r} Lordship that coal from Cape Briton cannot be carried to any part of America and there sold (a place or two excepted) for a less price than coal can be carried from England, because no advantage of freight could be made or had but ships must go in ballast—whereas many ships from England can load coal in prosecuting their voyage to America without going much out of the way and at little expense on that account." If this is granted him on lease for thirty years he offers to pay for the first ten years, 1 shilling for every chaldron of coal "dug for sale" and for the next twenty years, 1 shilling 6 pence, or if it is granted to him outright, 2 shillings and 6 pence for every chaldron. As we read between the lines we can discover that Levy's insight into the future uses of coal in America was far in advance of his time. But this petition

also proved of no avail, for I have not been able to find that it ever received consideration even, by the Commissioners of Trade. Levy was now forced to give up the fight and the last we hear of him is that he was in Philadelphia in December, 1768, and in Boston in October of the following year.

By a strange coincidence, Jews are soon again concerned in the history of the island of St. Katharine's. In October, 1765, Bosomworth sold it to Button Gwinnett. On March 16, 1770, Gwinnett, owing Mordecai and Levi Sheftall one thousand pounds, five hundred of which were due in March, 1772, conveyed to them St. Katharine's as security for the payment of the above amounts.[1]

[1] See MS. in New York Public Library, Em. 4111.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST RUSSIAN-AMERICAN JEWISH CONGREGATION.

THE BETH HAMEDROSH HAGODOL.

By J. D. Eisenstein, *New York City.*

History is indeed stranger than fiction, yet stranger is the history of the Jews, and that of the Russian-American Jews the strangest. The Russian persecution, in 1881-82, marking a new epoch in their history, was a potent factor in largely increasing their immigration, which began with the second half of the last century. Neither the dreamer nor the prophet, however, could reasonably imagine or predict their remarkable growth and development in that short period—from the sparse few of their humble congregation to the present mighty army of numerous synagogues, *shules* and *hebras* with the fervor of religious activity.

I speak of the Russian-American colony of New York, embracing the southeast side, bounded by the East River, Catharine Street, the Bowery and Houston Street. The colony—a mammoth wheel with its numerous spokes of congested streets—has for its hub Rutgers Square, now Seward Park, where East Broadway and Canal Street meet; where the Educational Alliance, Schiff's fountain and the playground for the amusement and health exercise of the rising generation are situated. Several *Yiddish* dailies are published in this vicinity, claiming a combined circulation of 100,000. Upwards of 20,000 Russian Jews massed together on the occasion of the last presidential election to read the bulletins displayed in *Yiddish* on a screen in their own Newspaper Row. Among the pictures shown was that of Dr. Herzl, with the suggestive inscription לשנה הבאה

בירושלים "next year in Jerusalem!" The lowest estimate credits this locality with 300,000 Russian Jews, and nearly 300 congregations including *Minyanim*, making it probably unique in the world. And yet it is but fifty years since, in that whole neighborhood, not a single congregation of Russian Jews could be found, the requisite number of ten not being present to form even a *Minyan*. In fact, their first colony was established on the west side of the Bowery; East Broadway being then the Fifth Avenue of the present time, the exclusive place of residence of the aristocracy of Gotham.

The first Russian-American congregation was founded June 4, 1852, by the following members: Benjamin Lichtenstein, Judah Middleman, Abraham Benjamin (of Hamburg), Abraham Joseph Ash, Israel Cohen, Abba Baum, David Lasky, Leib Cohen, Baruch Solomon Rothschild, Joshua Rothstein, Eliah Greenstein, Feibel Philips (the scribe), Abraham Reiner, Tobias Schwartz, Abraham Levy (of Ratzk), Nyman Harris, Leibel Ratzker, Samuel Hillel Isaacs, Jerahemiel Chuck (of Berlin), Isidor Raphall, Wolf Cohen and Jacob Levy. The first twelve were the organizers and the rest joined later. Several non-Russian Jews who were dissatisfied with the reform movement of their congregations joined the orthodox Russian congregation. Of these members only Abba Baum and Samuel H. Isaacs survive (1900).

Their first place of worship (1852) was in the garret of No. 83 Bayard Street, paying eight dollars rent a month. Their first officers were: *Parnas* (president), B. Lichtenstein; Secretary, I. Cohen; Rabbi, A. J. Ash; Reader, S. H. Isaacs. All services were given gratis, and it was a special privilege to allow one to officiate in the capacity of cantor. To the lot of the Reader fell the function of blowing the *Shofar* on New Year's Day. The question of procuring a suitable *Shofar*, however, was not easily solved; for while a thousand *Shofars* may now without difficulty

be obtained in season in New York, the only *Shofar* they could secure, the first year, had a hole in it which changed the note of a *tekiah* into a *teruah*.

The congregation soon increased in members which necessitated their removal, after the holidays (November), 1852, to larger quarters at Elm Street, corner of Canal Street, on the first floor, which was rented for twenty-five dollars per month. There was a carpenter-shop on the floor above, which apparently did not disturb the worshippers.

On May 2, 1853, by reason of a further increase of membership, the congregation moved to Pearl Street, corner of Centre Street (formerly a court-house), on the top floor, paying a monthly rental of twenty-five dollars, till May 1, 1856. There was a German congregation, "Beth Abraham," on the first floor, which afterwards moved out, owing possibly to the religious competition of the Russian congregation, which then took its place on the ground floor. The former congregation changed its name to "Shaare Zedek" and located in Henry Street, from which place, this year (1900), it moved up town (118th Street near St. Nicholas Avenue).

During their stay in Pearl Street, Mr. Raphall was *Parnas* the first year, Mr. Rothstein held the same office for the last two years, and Mr. Ash became the Rabbi at a salary of two dollars a week. Joseph Oppenheim was engaged as Beadle at a nominal salary, and the well-known author and *Maggid*, Joshua Falk,[1] delivered occasional sermons without compensation.

The first division in the congregation occurred (1865) when Rabbi Ash opposed the appointment of Aaron Friedman as *Shohet* for the congregation, in order to sustain the decision handed down by the Rabbis of his native country regarding his capacity for the office, while Mr. Middleman, a Talmudic jurist, endeavored and ultimately succeeded

[1] Joshua Falk ben Mordecai Cohen, author of *Abne Joshua* on *Pirke Abot*, New York, 1860, etc. (v. Ben Jacob, p. 5. Steinschneider *Hamazkir*, N. 49.)

by correspondence with the Galician Rabbis, known as *Mephorshe ha-Yam*, in obtaining a permit for the *Shohet*. Rabbi Ash, however, refused to honor the permit. Mr. Middleman, in consequence, withdrew and formed a *Minyan* for himself and followers on Bayard Street, the subsequent outcome of which was the creation of a congregation for the "Kalwarier," now situated at No. 12 Pike Street.

About this time (1855) Rabbi Ash formed the acquaintance of John Hart, a Portuguese, who, on the anniversary of his parents' death, came down in a carriage to visit the congregation in Pearl Street to say the *Kaddish* prayer. The Rabbi also "learned" with him a chapter of the Pentateuch and a chapter of *Mishnayot*. In gratitude for his religious labor Mr. Hart influenced his rich friend, Samson Simpson, to donate 3000 dollars towards the purchase of a synagogue. Another Portuguese, Mr. Shendar, gave 500 dollars; Dr. Ashman, 200 dollars; and from members was collected 1300 dollars more, making a total of 4000 dollars, which sum they paid towards the purchase of the Welsh Chapel, No.78 Allen Street, leaving a mortgage of 3500 dollars.

Thus, it is shown that the Portuguese-American Jews were the main support for the purchase of a place of worship for the first Russian-American congregation. It also shows the course of the Russian Jewish colony moving east of the Bowery. But whether the purchase of the Allen Street Church was the cause of the members following, or vice versa, is a question yet to be solved.

The dedication of the synagogue occurred on the day preceding Pentecost, June 8, 1856. Rev. Abraham Rice, of Baltimore, delivered the dedication sermon. The membership roll was then 65, presided over by Mr. Rothstein.

Disagreement between Mr. Rothstein and Rabbi Ash over trivial matters soon divided the congregation into two factions, one siding with the official authority of the *Parnas* and the other with the Rabbinic authority of Mr. Ash, and the fact that the possession of the synagogue was mainly due to

his influence. It appears that the *Parnas'* honor was on one occasion slighted, and as a rebuke, he failed to attend the regular services in the synagogue. The members, concluding that he had seceded, elected without further notice Mr. Henry Chuck as the new *Parnas*. Mr. Rothstein, however, did not relish the idea of being displaced, and reappeared in the synagogue to assume his official duties, but the opposition would not recognize him. Thus, one Saturday morning they both acted as *Parnas* at the same time, each giving orders for the calling up of members to read the same portion of the Pentateuch. Legal proceedings regarding the validity of the new election followed. The Court finally decided in favor of the former *Parnas* and annulled the new election. This caused another division in the congregation. Rabbi Ash and his followers decided to leave the congregation and form a new congregation for themselves. They agreed, on receiving 300 dollars, to renounce all claims. Notwithstanding their synagogue disturbances the members of both factions remained social friends, and what is more surprising, the warring leaders, Chuck and Rothstein, afterwards became related by intermarriage of their children, and later worked in harmony with the utmost zeal for the organization of the proposed "United Orthodox Congregations in America" in 1888.

Rabbi Ash's following consisted of 23 members, including Israel Cohen, David Lasky, Eliah Greenstein, Jerahemiel Chuck, Henry King, Mayer Salwen, and Jacob Eliezar Lewine. They named the new congregation *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol* ("The Grand") to distinguish it from the former *Beth Hamedrash*, and for 25 dollars per month rented the top floor of Forsyth Street, southwest corner of Grand Street.

The dedication of the new *shule* was on Sabbath *Nahemi*, August 13, 1859. Mr. Chuck, Sr., donated a *Sepher Torah*, many Talmudic books and contributed largely towards the purchase of a burial ground in the Union Fields Cemetery

which was augmented in 1882 by an additional plot costing $1250. A holy alliance, or burial society, was formed as a branch of the congregation, August 15, 1859, and Pesah Rosenthal was elected first *Gabbai* (treasurer). On March 20, 1887, however, by the adoption of new by-laws by the congregation the society was amalgamated, and ceased to exist as a separate branch.

The officers of the Forsyth Street congregation, in 1859, were Henry Chuck, President; Mayer Salwen, Secretary; Israel Cohen, Reader of the Pentateuch; Nathan Meyer, Beadle and Collector, at an annual salary of 75 dollars, which was afterwards increased to 150 dollars. Mr. Meyer served in this capacity till his death, November 17, 1898, nearly thirty years. This salary was insufficient to supply his family's wants, so during the day he worked at his trade of glazier to eke out a living. Glazing, it appears, was the first occupation of the Russian Jews, who learned the trade while stopping in England on their way to America. "Glass put in" was a familiar sonorous street cry of many of the early immigrants. Another item of income was his privilege of keeping in the vestibule of the *shule* a *Schaenck*, or a buffet, for the accommodation of members on *Jahrzeit* occasions, who, in order to avoid the necessity of fasting, took advantage of a loophole in the law by pretending to give a "religious banquet" for celebrating the completion of reading a chapter of the Bible or Talmud, in which case the mourner is permitted to break his fast and participate in the rejoicing of the Torah. The "banquet" that the Beadle served usually consisted of a small glass of brandy and a piece of sponge cake for which he charged the mourner 10 cents for every member present who accepted the invitation to join the pseudo-religious "banquet." This netted the Beadle an additional 75 dollars per annum. Later, however, when the reform movement set in and decorum was introduced in the congregation the *Schaenck* was abolished, the salary of the Beadle was raised

to 250 dollars per annum to compensate for his loss of the *Jahrzeit* patronage, and the congregation, as a consequence, assumed a truly mournful appearance on the anniversary days—in sombre contrast to the previous good times on such occasions.

Rabbi Ash, about the time of the Civil War, became engaged with a partner in the manufacture of hoop skirts, then the rage of fashion, in which business he accumulated nearly ten thousand dollars. He then changed the Rabbinate for the more dignified office of *Parnas*, and instead of receiving a stipend, contributed liberally towards the expenses of the congregation. Later he lost his money and had to resume the Rabbinate. In 1876 he took up the business of importing *Kasher* wine from Los Angeles, California. Fate, however, decided against him, and in 1879, in spite of all his endeavors, he was obliged to resume his religious functions in the congregation, his salary then being 25 dollars per month, till his death, May 6, 1887.

In the third year (1861) of the Forsyth St. congregation another split was imminent between two factions of the congregation, who became more distinct and divided as each increased in numbers, namely the *Hasidim* and their opponents. As a rule the former are socially religious, they combine piety with pleasure; they call their *shule* a *stuebel* or prayer-clubroom; they desire to be on familiar terms with the Almighty and abhor decorum; they want every one present to join and chant the prayers; above all they scorn a regularly ordained cantor, whom they are not allowed and cannot follow in his "foreign" melodies. On the other hand, the reformed element wanted to introduce decorum and a musical cantor. Rabbi Ash and his ardent follower, Israel Cohen, and others belonged to the *Hasidim*. It happened that the new *Parnas*, Aaron Hershfield, with a majority of members of the reform element engaged the services of Israel Warschauer, a musical cantor, for the autumn holidays. He proved a great attraction;

the *shule* was crowded to its utmost capacity. When the air became heavy and oppressive especially on the fast-day of Atonement, the *Hasidim*, to allow ventilation, opened the windows, but the *Parnas*, fearing a possible injury to the voice of the cantor by reason of the draft, remonstrated and insisted that the windows be closed. The *Hasidim* took offence at this incident, and, having a plausible excuse, seceded after the holidays, in 1861. They organized a regular *Hasidim Stuebel*, at No. 21 Delancy St., and introduced the Sephardic ritual. Every Saturday night they joined in celebrating at the *Stuebel* the departure of Queen Sabbath, (*Melawe Malka*). This farewell banquet consisted of fish, meat and liquor contributed by individual members, accompanied by singing of hymns with all the old time hilarity and rejoicing until midnight. This, however, lasted only till the following Passover festival, when the *Stuebel* was given up and the *Hasidim* rejoined the Congregation.

On May 15, 1865, they moved from Forsyth Street, to Clinton St., S. E. corner of Grand Street, (formerly a court-house), paying 600 dollars per annum rent, which was later increased to 800 dollars, and remained until 1872. Eleazar Philips, Henry King, Aaron Hershfield, David Lasky, Israel Cohen, successively held the office of *Parnas;* Treasurer, Henry Chuck; Secretary, Isaac Gerson Rubenstein.

One of the members, Hana Hersh, a native of Hungary, of the *Hasidim* party, introduced (1870) a strictly *Kasher* system of *Matzoth* baking for the Passover festival. The rollers were of glass and all utensils of copper, especially made for that purpose. Cleanliness and rapid handling of the dough were the main features to be religiously observed. And as an extra precaution he instructed every member to personally superintend the baking of the *Matzoth* for his own family use. The expense was divided pro rata. The members also engaged an extra *Shohet*, Asher Lemil Harris, at a salary of 20 dollars per month for the slaughter of animals for their special meat market.

In 1872 the Congregation purchased the property at No. 69 Ludlow Street, on which site they built a synagogue. The total cost was 17,250 dollars on which they paid 3000 dollars down, and 6250 dollars within two years; towards these sums Henry Chuck contributed 2800 dollars, the balance of 8000 dollars remaining on mortgage. The dedication of the synagogue took place before *Rosh ha-Shana* (New Year's day) on September 27, 1872. The reformers or younger element gained the upper hand, and introduced improvements and innovations, which the conservatives gradually but reluctantly accepted. The management hitherto controlled by the elders was given into the hands of the younger members. Their first effort was directed to make the system of voting in legal form by secret balloting, instead of the open and antiquated style which influenced, hindered and corrupted the elections. The books of records and accounts also needed overhauling and correction. All these were remedied by the ensuing election of Israel Rosenthal (son of Pesah) as President (no more called *Parnas*), and Abraham Alexander, as Secretary. The former held the office for three years, and the latter for eight years. The Secretary's salary of 75 dollars per annum was then increased to 150 dollars. After Mr. Rosenthal the following were the presiding officers of the Ludlow Street Synagogue: Abraham Raphall, Henry Chuck, B. Barnet, Dramin Jones, Moses Botkowsky and Mayer Freeman. The membership roll was then about 100.

In 1874, Rabbi Ash, assisted by J. D. Eisenstein, organized a *Hebra Shas* or a society for the study of the Talmud after the evening service in the synagogue, in sets of two, each set "learning" a *masehet* (book) and consulting others, or Rabbi Ash, in solving the more difficult problems. A *Hebra Mishnayot* (Mishna) had existed since 1870, organized by Israel Cohen which studied in the synagogue after the morning prayers.

In 1885 the congregation sold the synagogue in Ludlow

Street, and purchased the Methodist church at Nos. 52-60 Norfolk street for 45,000 dollars, paying 10,000 dollars in cash, 5000 dollars within two years, and 30,000 dollars on mortgage.

Charity dispensations in the Congregation were next to the duty of prayer. It was not, however, the organized sort given by proxy, but the home kind that brings the poor in touch with the contributor. At the early stage of immigration, strangers or *Orhim* (guests) as they were called, on their arrival, were lodged and fed for a few weeks and then given a helpful start in the new world by the members of the congregation, especially if the "greenhorns" happened to meet a "landsman" or a native countryman. They were usually provided with a basket of small wares, along with the preliminary lessons of peddling. Deserving cases were also taken care of out of the daily penny collections after the week-day's service, and larger collections for more urgent needs. Some of the newcomers were invited into the houses of the more wealthy members to partake of their meals on Sabbaths and festival days. The poor of the Holy Land were also remembered every Sabbath *Shekalim* (preceding Purim) when the revenue of the *Mi-she-Berachs* after the reading of the Pentateuch, was devoted to that fund. Two of the members, Abraham Benjamin and Nyman Harris, who settled in Jerusalem to spend the remainder of their days "in the courts of the Lord's House," were especially remembered, each with 25 dollars yearly.

For the Passover relief, a system of collection and distribution was inaugurated by J. D. Eisenstein in 1888 under the management of a *Moat Hitim Committee* which is still kept up. The collections average 800 dollars a year and are expended for *Matzoth*, meals and cash distributions.

The question of employing a regular cantor at a fixed salary had never troubled the organizers of the congregation. As already remarked, it was rather a privilege to allow one to officiate, a function to which every member was

eligible, and invariably capable. The member who was commemorating the anniversary of a parent's death, was the *Baal Tephila* or the leader in prayer. A few gifted with more melodious voices were allotted the higher services. Leib Cohen, for instance, had the special privilege to conduct *Kol Nidre*, Nyman Harris *Musaph*, and Israel Cohen *Neilah*, on the day of Atonement, etc. The old ideas, however, finally gave way with the introduction of decorum by the young reformers, who also settled the question of having a cantor, in the affirmative. The first cantor, Judah Oberman, elected in 1877, received 500 dollars per annum, of which amount individual members who forced the issue to a conclusion obligated themselves to pay half. In 1880, Simhe Samuelson was chosen cantor at a salary of 700 dollars, which was increased to 1000 dollars in 1885, when the Norfolk Street Synagogue was dedicated. About that time the estimated valuation of a cantor's services began to advance at a very rapid rate. The reason may be assigned to the competition of other Russian congregations which were then building large synagogues in the same vicinity. This in a measure compelled the oldest congregation to follow suit and purchase the Methodist Church. But to meet the increasing expenses and the accruing interest on the heavy mortgage, a corresponding increase of members had to be secured, and to ensure their cooperation, the *Suwalker* congregation adopted the old advice "make sweet melody, sing many songs that thou mayest be remembered" (Isaiah xxv, 16). So they decided to import the celebrated cantor Hayyim Weinshel (a Hebrew poet and author of *Nitei Naamanim*, published in New York), who upon arrival was received with great enthusiasm. He proved a magnetic attraction for new members to his congregation. The *Kalwarier* hurriedly sent for another celebrity, cantor Kupfer, to check a threatened withdrawal of members. The Eldridge Street Congregation *Kehal Adat Yeshurun*, formerly of No. 78 Allen Street, which

separated from the original *Beth Hamedrash*, surprised all others by securing the services of cantor P. Minkowsky, with his choir, at the enormous salary of 5000 dollars per annum—the largest price ever paid by any East side congregation. This caused the Norfolk Street Congregation to bring over the well-known cantor, Israel Michaelowsky, in 1886, paying him a large salary. The strain on the resources of the congregations, however, soon brought the inevitable crisis, and this expensive luxury had to be discontinued.

It was fitting that the *Beth Hamedrash Hagodol*, the first Russian-American congregation, should lead in the movement to unite all orthodox congregations of America, and accordingly, in 1879, it issued a call for such purpose with a view to the election of a Chief Rabbi. The plan was not however consummated until 1886 and the position accepted by Rabbi Jacob Joseph, of Wilna. The congregation subscribed 500 dollars per annum towards the expense. This subject, however, requires a separate article.

In conclusion I will say that out of a total of nearly 200 members in 1888, more than half, especially the elder members, have since moved up town. The members of the congregation have now almost entirely lost the picturesque characteristics of the Russian-American pioneers.

WHENCE CAME THE FIRST JEWISH SETTLERS OF NEW YORK?

By Leon Hühner, A. M., LL. B., *New York.*

It has frequently been stated that the Jews who settled at New York were the first Jewish settlers within what is now the United States.[1] For this reason the query, "Whence came these early Colonists?" must be of interest to all students of American Jewish history.

Judge Daly, in his admirable work and other writers as well, inform us that these early Jews came from Bahia, Brazil, being refugees from that country.[2] The reasons for this view are: First—We know that there were Jews in Brazil in considerable numbers long before 1650.[3] Second—The Brazilian Jews were tolerated by the Dutch who gained the ascendancy in Brazil in the early part of the 17th century. Third—Because the Dutch power was broken in 1654 and the Portuguese reconquered the country.[4] The Jews consequently had to leave for other parts. In the same year Jews arrived in New Netherland.[5]

All this would seem to show that the Jews who arrived at New York in 1654 on the ship St. Catarina might have come from Brazil. The reason assigned for their coming from Bahia is, because the earliest record, of the Jews at New York, is found in the account of the suit brought by Jacques de

[1] See Daly, *Settlement of Jews in North America*, p. 8. We know of individual Jewish settlers before this time, *e. g.* Lumbrozo in Maryland and the two Jewish soldiers in New York have been mentioned in the *Publications.* To these might be added Solomon Pietersen referred to below, and in *Rec. of New Amsterdam*, I, p. 240.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 6. [3] *Ib.*, p. 5. [4] *Ib.*, p. 6.

[5] *Ib.*, also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 242, etc.

la Motthe, the captain of the vessel that brought them, in which it is stated that he demanded payment from the Jews whom he brought from Cape St. Anthony.[1] Now as there is a Cape St. Anthony, a promontory opposite Bahia harbor, it has been considered conclusive that the Brazilian Jews, who were compelled to leave on account of the Dutch capitulation and the advancing Portuguese, hurriedly gathered at Cape St. Anthony, Bahia, and there made that hard contract with the captain to take them to New Netherland.[2]

The only other reason for this conclusion is found in the colonial records of New Netherland, when Gov. Stuyvesant asked the directors in Holland for permission to expel the Jews. The answer states two reasons why such a course should not be taken, namely, that it would be unreasonable and unfair especially because of the considerable loss sustained by the Jews in the taking of Brazil, and also because of the large amount of capital which they have invested in the shares of the West India Company.[3]

While preparing a paper on Asser Levy the writer searched the Court Minutes of New Amsterdam. In these, under date, September 12, 1654, appears the suit by Asser Levy against Rycke Nounes. Both Levy and Rycke Nounes, it is certain, came on the ship St. Catarina and formed part of Captain de la Motthe's company.[4]

In this suit Asser Levy demanded money, which he lent to the defendant at Gamoniké, which the translator of the record informs us is Jamaica.[5] The defendant in turn states that

[1] Daly, *Settlement*, etc., p. 6. See *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 240, etc.

[2] The contract referred to provided that each passenger was to be liable for the cost of transportation of all the rest.

[3] See Daly, *Settlement*, etc., p. 9. *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 14, p. 315.

[4] See paper by the writer entitled, "Asser Levy, a noted Jewish Burgher of New Amsterdam," *Publications Amer. Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, and authorities cited. See also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, pp. 242, 249, 254, 259.

[5] *Ib.*, p. 242.

she paid Levy's passage from Gamoniké to New Netherland. It seems, therefore, that in any event the ship which brought the first Jews came from, or at least stopped at, Jamaica.

The question, then, presents itself, "Why could not these Jews have come as readily from Jamaica, or some other portion of the West Indies, as from Brazil?"

For the purpose of investigating this question, several old works have been examined, and original contemporary maps sought out.

This much is certain, that the Jews paid passage from Cape St. Anthony. Is this the Cape St. Anthony off Bahia, Brazil? It is submitted that it is not, but that the place referred to in the record is Cape St. Anthony off the western coast of Cuba.

In searching through the Dutch records, the name Cape St. Anthony frequently occurs in other connections, and it is certain that the place mentioned is not in Brazil. Thus shortly after the arrival of the Jews in New York, there appears in the record a considerable correspondence between the Spanish government and the Dutch authorities, concerning a Spanish ship and cargo taken by a Dutch privateer off Cape St. Anthony. One Juan Gaillardo Ferrara was the complainant at whose instance the Spanish government interfered.[1]

From this correspondence it conclusively appears that Cape St. Anthony must be somewhere near Jamaica and Mexico, for Gaillardo in his affidavit says, that he was on his way from Jamaica to St. Jago de Kuba, when he was attacked in 1654. His chief witness, as appears in Brodhead's *Colonial Documents*, was one Adrian Jans, and his affidavit gives us an idea of what the Dutch understood by Cape St. Anthony. He states that in the year 1654, sailing in the Spanish advice-boat, bound from Carthagena to Campeachy, and from Campeachy on a full cruise in New Spain,

[1] See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 2, p. 28. See also pp. 23, 38, etc.

the said boat in the neighborhood of Cape St. Anthony was boarded and plundered by a Dutch privateer who brought the prize to New Amsterdam.[1] He also states that the same privateer had taken a vessel off the coast of Jamaica.[2] The records amply show that by Carthagena is meant the City of Venezuela, for there was a direct line of communication between Carthagena and Jamaica.[3]

Now there is a Cape St. Anthony off the southwestern coast of Cuba, and this undoubtedly is the point meant by the record, for it completely tallies with the above description.

The old maps and books that have been consulted show that Cape St. Anthony, which by the way is now known as Cape Santo Antonio, was one of the most important ports between North and South America.

A glance at the map will show that from its situation it completely commanded the Gulf of Mexico, the Indies and the passage to New Netherland. Spanish ships bound for Mexico, or New Spain, as it was called, the land of gold, had to pass this cape, and near it some of the boldest pirates lay in wait for richly laden vessels.

On several old maps the Cape St. Anthony at Bahia does not appear at all, while Cape St. Anthony in Cuba invariably appears as an important place. This is the case on the map of America, in an atlas published in 1673, known as *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt.*[4] On other maps Mexico and Central America are known as New Spain, the West Indies by that name, and Brazil simply as Brazil.[5]

[1] *Ib.*, p. 28.

[2] One affidavit mentioning the capture of a certain ship off Cape St. Anthony, recited that the ship was on a voyage from Jamaica to "St. Jago de Kuba." *Ib.*, p. 38.

[3] That the ship was actually captured near Jamaica appears from Brodhead's *Colonial Documents*, vol. 1, p. 577.

[4] *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt*, by Dr. O. D., Amsterdam, 1673.

[5] This map applies to Mexico and Central America the name of "Hispania Nova."

Gram's *Atlas of the World*, published in 1897, places St. Anthony exactly where Cape St. Anthony appears on the ancient maps.[1] This port appears strongly marked on Vopell's *Erdglobus*, and on the Paris *Gilt Globe* as early as 1524.[2]

The *Transactions of the West India Company*, written by De Laet and published by Elzevir, at Leyden, Holland, in 1644, mention Cape St. Anthony frequently, and each time the Cuban Cape is meant. Thus in one place it is spoken of as opposite Campeachy; then as on the southern side of Cuba, and again as in the neighborhood of Florida.[3] The Spanish works do likewise; thus Herrera's book, in 1730, speaking of American commerce, says: "From Carthagena we come to Cape St. Anton, on the west side of Cuba about 200 leagues, and from Cape St. Anton to Havana about 50 leagues."[4]

It thus appears that the Dutch records and the West India Company's records, when referring to Cape St. Anthony, mean this important Cuban port and not the promontory off Bahia.

Let us now see what the Dutch records have to say in this connection in regard to the voyage of the Jews. Nowhere do these state that the Jews came from Brazil; quite the contrary, they invariably refer to the Jews as coming from the West Indies.[5] We have already alluded to the

[1] Cape St. Antonio appears opposite Cape Catoche, at the extreme west end of Cuba.

[2] Caspar Vopell's *Erdglobus*, of 1542. On this, the only Cape St. Anthony that is shown is in Cuba. See also *Hamburgsche Festschrift zur Errinnerung an der Entdeckung Amerikas.* The Paris *Gilt Globe* gives both capes.

[3] *Historie ofte Jaerlyck Verhael van de Verricht ighen der Gerctroveerde West Indische Compagnie*, Joannes de Laet, Leyden, by Elzevir, 1644. See p. 87, etc.

[4] *Descripcion de las Indias Ocidentales de Antono de Herrera* (1730), p. 4. Cape St. Anton is described as being opposite Honduras.

[5] See *Records of New Amsterdam* (Court Minutes), vol. 1, p. 249: "Oct. 5, 1654: John Martyas, plf., *vs.* Assar Leeven, deft." Plaintiff

stop made by the party at Jamaica as evidenced on two occasions by the court records. Looking at the map nothing is more natural than that these Jews set out from Jamaica, went to Cape St. Anthony, which they had to pass, and thence to New Netherland. They may have been robbed by privateers before reaching the Cape, and this would account for their impoverished condition. The fact, too, that they came by a French vessel confirms the view that they came from the Indies where the French had considerable possessions.[1]

In another suit by the sailors on the same contract in October, 1654, they are described as the sailors who brought the Jews here from the West Indies.[2]

The entry in the suit against Asser Levy, October 19, 1654, says that Rycke Nounes demanded payment for freight from the West Indies.[3] And on March 15, 1655, we find the order of Van Tienhoven, the sheriff of New York, which reads "that the council have resolved to expel the Jews who came last year from the West Indies."[4] Investigation shows too that the term West Indies, at this period, had a perfectly definite meaning and in no way included Brazil.[5]

sues "as attorney and agent of the sailors who brought the Jews here from the West Indies." Also p. 254, under date Oct. 19, 1654. "Solomon Pietersen, as attorney for Rycke Nounes *vs.* Asser Leeven." Plaintiff in his capacity aforesaid demands payment of fl. 105.18 which Rycke Nounes paid for transportation for him from the West Indies.

Again, *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. 1, p. 291, referring to the attempt made to expel the Jews in 1655: "Fiscal Cornelis van Tienhoven informed the Burgomasters and Schepens the Director General and Supreme Council have resolved that the Jews who came last year from the West Indies and now from fatherland must prepare to depart forthwith." See also Valentine's *Manual* for 1849, p. 387.

[1] See *History of West Indies* by Capt. Thos. Southey, vol. I, p. 334-35; *Hist. of Brazil*, by Robert Southey, vol. II, p. 710.

[2] *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. I, p. 249, etc.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 259.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 291, also Valentine's *Manual*, 1849, p. 387.

[5] See maps and Spanish and Dutch works referred to.

Now the writer does not by any means want to be understood as saying that these early settlers had lived in Jamaica for a long time. All that is claimed is that the Cape St. Anthony from which the Jews came is the port in Cuba, and that there is a possibility that these Jews or some of them were old settlers in the West Indies.

It may be asked, "If these men were old settlers, why did they leave the Indies?" The reason is simple. It is well known that by 1654 the seas around Jamaica and Barbados had become infested with French, Spanish and Dutch privateers and pirates. The records and histories of the time show that all legitimate trade was absolutely ruined. These privateers often descended on neighboring ports, plundering the inhabitants. If these Jews were actually domiciled in Jamaica, they had every reason to leave, both for the reason given and also because Cromwell's fleet which lay in the neighborhood of Jamaica and San Domingo, practically cut off commerce. The histories of Jamaica tell us that when the English took that island in 1655, it was almost depopulated and its plantations ruined.[1] Stuyvesant himself had to go to the West Indies during the year that the Jews arrived, to protest against interference with Dutch trade and the constant capture of Dutch vessels.[2] The Jews, naturally a nation of traders, had every reason, then, to leave Jamaica or some other portion of the Indies, for some place better suited for commerce.[3]

[1] It is also known that Cromwell received valuable information from Jewish residents at Jamaica.

[2] See O'Callaghan's *History of New Netherland*, vol. II, p. 286. Stuyvesant left in December, 1654, and returned in July, 1655.

[3] See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by Brodhead, vol. 2, p. 23. See also complaints made by the States General for losses on account of captures made at Curaçao, etc. Also *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. I, p. 576, and Harris' *Discoveries and Settlements of the English*, in Pinkerton's Collection, vol. 12, p. 310, etc.

These arguments are advanced merely because of the possibility and not the probability of the Jews having come from there. The writer is aware that the objections will be made, that we do not know that Jews had settled in the Indies in considerable numbers at this period. If, therefore, this paper will serve to encourage research in this regard, its object will be fulfilled.[1]

That the field is a fruitful one, appears from a curious note which the writer has discovered and which he ventures to give in full. While the agitation concerning the admission of Jews into England was still going on, one Thomas Violet, who had been a customs official under Charles I, published a pamphlet against admitting them. It is entitled "Petition against the Jews presented to the King's Majesty and the Parliament," and was published in London in 1660. After reviewing Cromwell's policy, and the petition of Menassah ben Israel, he proceeds to give his reasons for keeping out the Jews. Among them the following, "that it would be to the great damage of our merchants whose trade they engross and eat the children's bread and in the Barbadoes they do so swarm, that had not care been taken to banish them in twenty years they would eat out the English, but by the care of this blessed Parliament they were within a year to be banished thence."[2] This is perhaps the earliest reference to Jews in considerable numbers in the West Indies.

[1] Since this paper was written, Mr. Max J. Kohler has called my attention to a book entitled *Eight Chapters in the History of Jamaica, from A. D.* 1508-*A. D.* 1680, *Illustrating the Settlement of Jews in the Island*, by Richard Hill, published at Kingston, Jamaica, W. DeCordova, McDougall and Co., no date. From this work it appears that Jews settled in Jamaica as early as the 16th Century and that Jewish settlers were both numerous and influential as early as 1641. After the English conquest they were protected by Cromwell.

[2] The writer found this volume at the Astor Library, New York City.

But to return to Brazil. Besides the proof that the Dutch records do not refer to Cape St. Anthony in Bahia but to the Cape in Cuba, there is still another argument that these New York Jews did not come from Bahia: there were then no professing Jews in Bahia.

There were, it is true, many Jews in Brazil, but it is equally true that none of them resided at Bahia. The Dutch had captured that city in 1623, but they lost it again in 1625, and from that date onward, Bahia remained uninterruptedly in the possession of the bigoted Portuguese, in spite of many efforts to retake it.[1] The Dutch subsequently took Recife or Pernambuco which became their great stronghold, and in which thousands of Jews resided. The Dutch conquests extended north of Recife, but they never managed to get south of it.[2]

In an old work on Brazil by Nieuhoff, the author states that Bahia and Rio were from 1625 on constantly under Portuguese rule, and it was from Bahia as a central point that the Portuguese under Vieyra and others again conquered the country.[3]

Heeren, in his *Historical Researches* says, "All Pernambuco and some contiguous provinces were brought under the dominion of the Dutch who were unable, however, to make themselves masters of Bahia." [4]

Throughout the whole struggle, Bahia was the strong hold of the Portuguese, the Jesuits and the Inquisition, and its record is one of the most intense bigotry.[5] Moreover,

[1] See Heeren's *Historical Researches*, p. 113. Also Nieuhoff's *History of Brazil* in vol. 14 of Pinkerton's *Collection*, p. 733.

[2] See *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2.

[3] Nieuhoff's *History of Brazil*. This work is contained in Pinkerton's *Collection of Travels*, vol. 14, p. 733. See also *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2, p. 74, and Southey's *History of Brazil*, vol. 2, p. 227, etc.

[4] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, p. 113. St. Salvador was another name for Bahia.

[5] See *Spanish and Portuguese South America*, by R. G. Watson, vol. 2, p. 71. The Holy Office was established at Bahia. When a liberal

during the entire war, there were the most stringent enactments on both sides to prevent all trade between that city and Recife. The Jews at Recife, therefore, would naturally go to the northward and not south towards their enemies.

From Bahia, the Portuguese fleet proceeded to attack Recife, and that great Dutch city surrendered on January 15, 1654.[1] In September of the same year, Jews came to New York.

The presence of Jews at Recife is shown by Beauchamp in his history of Brazil. The French historian after describing the despair of the Dutch at the capture of Recife proceeds: "Recife was now given over to disorder and anarchy. More than five thousand Jews, who knew no other interest but that of commerce, in their alarm and fear of pillage, in which they saw their wealth menaced, ran through the streets filling the air with their cries and lamentations."[2] Five thousand Jews were therefore in Recife at the time of its capitulation.

It would be absurd to imagine that these Jews after the capitulation would run into Bahia, the enemies' stronghold. The probabilities are that they hastily repaired to the North and settled at various places in the West Indies.

Du Tertre informs us that some nine hundred Jews and Dutch settled at Guadeloupe and a few Jews at Martinique,

plan for founding a Brazilian Company was proposed, it was at once opposed and defeated by the Inquisition. See also Southey's *History of Brazil*, vol. ii, p. 241.

[1] *Ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 239, 242.

[2] *Histoire du Bresil*, by Alphonse de Beauchamp, Paris, 1815, vol. 3, p. 317. Describing the taking of Recife on January 15, 1654, the French historian proceeds: "Le Recif attaqué cette fois dans toutes les regles de l'art militaire etait déja livrè au desordre et à l'anarchie. Plus de cinq mille Juifs, qui n'y connaissaient d'autre interet que celui de leur commerce, alarmés, et cedant à la crainte du pillage dont ils voyaient leur richesses menacées, parcouraient les rues en remplissant l'air de leur cris et de leur gemissemens."

and Southey tells us that at both places the Jews were plundered on their arrival.[1]

It is more than likely therefore that many of these Brazilian Jews seeking refuge in the West Indian Islands in January and February, 1654, came to Jamaica and thence embarked by way of Cape St. Anthony in Cuba, for New Netherland.

To sum up, this paper merely claims the following:

1. That the Jews who settled in New York did not come from Bahia, Brazil.

2. That they came by way of Cape St. Anthony in Cuba.

3. That there is a possibility that they may have been early settlers in the West Indies who left on account of the danger to trade at that period. And,

4. That the most probable view is that they came from Recife in Brazil when that city fell into the hands of the Portuguese on January 15, 1654, that they either lost their goods at Recife, or were plundered on the way, and that between January and August, they had found refuge in Jamaica (Gamoniké) or some other West Indian Island, whence they embarked to the Dutch Colony, of New Netherland.

[1] See Southey's *History of Brazil*, 1817, vol. 2. Also *Ib.*, p. 710. Also Du Tertre, vol. I, p. 528, also pp. 460–5. Du Tertre states that the Governor of Martinique was willing to receive the refugees from Recife, but the Jesuits interposed and represented "that nothing could be more contrary to the King's intentions than that Heresy and Judaism should be received into his colonies." "Their remonstrances were so strong that the governor reluctantly retracted his promise, and treated them as civilly as he could." A few Jews were allowed to settle, and for this the Governor was held up to ridicule. See *Relation du Voyage de Cayenne*, par M. Biet. Southey quotes Du Tertre's defense of the governor which exhibits even stronger feeling. "C'est une imposture effroiable, et un mensonge enorme de dire qu'on ait jamais donné la liberté aux Juifs de faire la moindre action de leur religion. M. Parquet ne se servoit des Juifs qui estoient venus de Bresil en son Isle que comme des esclaves pour les bien de son peuple, ainsi que l'on s'en sert a Rome en Avignon, et à Metz." Vol. I, p. 528. See also *History of the West Indies*, by Capt. Thomas Southey, vol. I, p. 334.

THE GERMAN-JEWISH MIGRATION TO AMERICA.

By Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL. B., *New York.*

It has been customary to date the arrival of German Jews in America from about the year 1848, and to refer to the earlier Jewish settlers as Sephardim, and not Ashkenazim. Though it is undeniable that America was first settled by the Spanish and Portuguese who, speaking roughly, preceded the Ashkenazim, we must be very cautious in drawing inferences unwarranted by facts, as to exclusive Sephardic settlements before the Revolutionary War, based, for instance, on the adoption of the Sephardic ritual or the like. Such arguments are disposed of by the testimony given, by a witness in New York in the Uriah P. Levy will contest,[1] where the question was raised as to what institution was referred to by Mr. Levy, when he left certain bequests to the "Portuguese Synagogue" in New York. The witness explained that the term "Portuguese" referred only to the ritual, and thus testified that the Shearith Israel Congregation, the pillar of the Sephardim in New York, was composed partly of non-Sephardic members. To mention but one of many cases, Alexander Zuntz, whose name places him among the Ashkenazim, was one of the principal officers of that congregation about the close of the Revolutionary War.

On a former occasion I pointed out that there were some isolated German Jews among the earliest settlers of

[1] Levy *v.* Levy, 33 N. Y., 97. See case on appeal, vol. 84, March term, 1865, N. Y. Law Institute Library.

New York (*Publications*, III, pp. 75-6), and that as early as 1712, in connection with the plan to erect a school-library and chapel in New York City, Rev. John Sharpe made the observation that New York contained "a synagogue of Jews, and many ingenious men of that nation from Poland, Hungary, Germany, etc." (Daly: *Settlement of the Jews*, etc. pp. 29-30, note). Subsequent to that date, we find Jewish names in ever-increasing frequency. An examination of the early records confirms the statement made by Isaac Harby in 1826, as regards that date, that "as to the descent of the Jews of the United States, they are principally German and English." (*North American Review*, July, 1826, p. 73.) I doubt, however, whether this statement as to relative numbers, would be true of the period preceding 1800, though it is important to observe that the early isolated Ashkenazic Jews were prominent far beyond their numbers in this earlier period, as witness the careers of such men as Haym Salomon, Jonas Phillips, the Gratzs, the Simons, Hyman Levy, the Harts, Sampson Simson Isaac Moses, etc. Of the German Jews who came to America before the close of our Revolutionary War, we may well say that they were above the average in intelligence, and this accounts in a measure for their success. Setting aside certain religious sects which were transplanted en masse, there was no large stream of migration of any denomination from Germany to America in those days.[1] No German colonies were established here, as the Germans were not a seafaring people like Spain, Portugal, Holland and England. As regards these early German-Jewish immigrants, who arrived here in very small numbers, they unquestionably joined the ranks of the Sephardic Jews for purposes of

[1] Mr. Leon Hühner, in the course of a paper read before the Society in December, 1900, on "Jews in Georgia in the Colonial Period," refers to a considerable settlement of German Jews in that colony about 1733, apparently constituting an exception to the generalization made above.

worship, and were therefore properly counted as members of Portuguese synagogues. Socially, it is true, they remained pretty much aloof from each other.

These same characteristics were not exhibited in such degree by the next class of German-Jewish immigrants who came over here during and soon after the Napoleonic Wars, and who were actuated by different motives and possessed different traits. In order to mark the difference between these distinct types, we may accept characterizations of the Portuguese and German types, furnished us by competent authority. What James Picciotto, himself of Sephardic origin, says of these types in his valuable *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, (p. 2) is equally true of our own land, as applied to the Portuguese, and these later German-Jewish immigrants:

"The spectacle presented by the struggles of the first German-Jewish settlers in this country differs as widely from that offered by their Portuguese brethren as a Flemish interior by Cuyp,—plain, homely, rough, and yet clearly displaying in the figures delineated some of the qualities that make up a nation's greatness—differs from the representation by Rubens of an imposing municipal gathering at the Hague, adorned with a crowd of richly-attired personages. Yet both paintings only bring forth the various virtues of one race, and describe various phases of the same national life. The original immigrants into England from Germany and Poland were undoubtedly placed at a great disadvantage as regards the Spanish and Portuguese settlers. These latter were usually men of polished manners, of old lineage, whose ancestors anciently had figured at courts,[1] and who in modern

[1] This idea is strongly confirmed by the recent utterances of the distinguished historian, our honorary member, Dr. Henry C. Lea, who has referred to an interesting and suggestive incident, bearing on this point in his paper on "The Martyrdom of San Pedro Arbues," in the *Am. Hist. Association Papers*, vol. III. He says, in speaking of the Marranos in Spain, in the closing days

times had constituted an aristocracy of commerce in Holland. The former were persons whose forefathers for ages had been subjected to every kind of degrading persecution, and had been debarred from pursuing any ennobling avocations; persons who themselves had neither been endowed by their fathers with worldly goods, nor with liberal knowledge. Nevertheless, to their credit be it said, these German Israelites, uncouth, illiterate, narrow-minded and poor, as the greater part of them must have been, friendless, without resources, and ignorant of the English language, as they unquestionably were, by dint of strict frugality, of unceasing activity, of indomitable energy, of considerable innate, if uncultivated, abilities, succeeded in acquiring more or less considerable fortunes, and in raising themselves to positions of trust and honor. For a long time prejudices against them lingered in the breast of the pure Sephardi, even until after the traits that had inspired this ungenerous feeling had ceased to exist. The question became then merely a question of caste. Many old-fashioned Portuguese at one period held themselves socially aloof from their Ashkenazi brethren, and would no more have given to one of the latter their daughter in marriage than a Brahmin would have affianced a dusky child of his to a Sudrah. As the German community advanced in enlightenment, and grew in wealth and numbers,

of Spanish glory: "At the same time conversion had opened a new brilliant career for them. Relieved from the disabilities which oppressed so heavily their unconverted brethren, the keen intellects and superior business capacity of the New Christians speedily won for them commanding influence." "They rose to the loftiest stations in Church and State; they accumulated enormous wealth; and they intermarried into the noblest families."

Still more suggestive is his footnote: "About 1560, Cardinal Mendoza Y. Bobyadilla presented to Philip II a memorial in which he showed that virtually the whole nobility of Castile and Aragon was contaminated with Jewish blood." "It is full of curious details of family history most unpleasing to family pride, and richly deserved the name which it obtained of 'Tizon de la nobleza,' or 'Blot on the nobility.'" Compare Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, page 21.

the barriers separating them from the older established branch of their race in England were gradually thrown down. When the former section of the English Jews had outstripped the latter in material advantages and external influence, it would have been too palpably absurd for the minority to affect a superiority, which no longer existed, over the majority."

Again, in speaking of the period 1760, when both the Portuguese and German Jews of England were eager to offer their congratulations to George III, upon his accession, the same writer says (p. 117):

"In truth, hitherto the somewhat haughty Sephardic Jews had looked upon their pushing, thriving and rising German brethren with a rather doubtful eye; very much in the same way, perhaps, as a marquis of ancient descent regards from his paternal acres the ambitious and self-asserting manufacturer, who buys all the land around him, and erects a mansion as fine as that of the nobleman."

Perhaps it will not be out of order, to further characterize the Portuguese-Jewish settlers in America, and their work somewhat more fully, before taking up the subject of this paper, all the more so, as it may help to bring out more clearly, the work of the German-Jewish settlers. The marked assimilability of the Jew has frequently been commented on; hence we note that the Sephardim brought with them Spanish pride, dignity, aristocracy, and a certain Southern indolence and conservatism. The fierce persecution to which the Spanish Jew had been subjected had not been continued over centuries, as in the case of his non-Sephardic brethren, and had not broken his spirit nor pride, nor obscured the memory of the achievements of the "Golden Age of Jewish History." On the other hand, freedom from necessity and from hard daily struggle during several preceding centuries, had resulted in the production of the greatest men of Spanish Jewry a couple of centuries before the Expulsion. What Mr. Picciotto refers to as the "strict

frugality, unceasing activity, indomitable energy, push and innate ability" of the German Jew, were traits not so marked perhaps in the Sephardic settlers. Of course in America there were some notable exceptions, like the Gomezes, the Lopezes, the Riveras and Touros.

But aside from this fact, no impartial student can deny that the Jew in America could not possibly have achieved his present important and influential position in the general community, had the ranks of the Sephardic settlers not been strongly recruited by the German-Jewish immigrants. Again we may turn with profit to Mr. Picciotto's work. He says (p. 176) speaking of London, though the passage is equally applicable to America:

"It would require much time and space to endeavor to trace why one of the two communities of Jews, existing in London a century since, should have remained stationary, or nearly so, whilst the other should have increased tenfold. We must of course allow for the natural difference in growth between the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, the fresh supply of whom from abroad was, if not exhausted, at all events very restricted, owing to the original source being nearly dry; and the German congregations which could draw a practically inexhaustible supply of fresh blood, from the millions of their coreligionists vegetating in poverty and ignorance in the crowded Ghettos of German cities, or in the wild plains of Poland. But one source of the stagnation is so obvious and palpable, that we cannot refrain from recording it. It is the numerous desertions that have occurred from the ranks of the Sephardic community, that are at the root of the diminished importance of their ancient congregation. It is to those who lapsed from the old path of Israel, and who forsook the old faith for the new dispensation; to those who sold their spiritual privileges for a mess of pottage."

As applied to the United States, we are also bound to recognize as factors, the limited spheres of possible Sephardic

migration, the frequent falling-off due to intermarriage and the like, and the growth of religious indifference and laxity. Because the German Reform movement in America has justified various prunings-off and abandonments of religious traditions and ceremonies, it has become customary in certain quarters to hold reform responsible for religious laxness in our midst. It is however evident that these tendencies were marked, long before Reform was introduced, and may be observed in some of the Sephardic communities in America. See for the New York community, the work of travels, published by the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, about 1748, (Daly's "*Settlement*" pp. 48–50), and the compilation of extracts from the Minutes of the Shearith Israel Congregation, made by the late Judge Joachimson, utilized in part by the present writer in a former paper read before this Society, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," (*Publications*, vol. II, p. 88, et seq.). The same is measurably true of the Jewish communities of Jamaica, Curaçao, Charleston and Savannah.

Dr. M. Kayserling began one of his valuable contributions to our *Publications* (Vol. 6, p. 5), entitled "A Memorial Sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress," with the following suggestive remarks: "When did the earliest immigration of German Jews into the free States of North America begin? This question, so important for history, has to my knowledge not been investigated up to the present time. It must at all events have begun earlier than is generally assumed." That distinguished Jewish historian then proceeded to analyze a petition to Congress, published as early as 1783, in Germany, purporting to have been drafted by a German Jew on behalf of several thousand coreligionists in Germany, and aiming at securing leave for them to settle in America, their offer being to cheerfully pay even double taxes for leave to found colonies here. The circumstances which induced this desire to migrate to America are fully set forth: the protection money and the

heavy taxes they were compelled to pay in their German home as Jews; the irksome civil and political disabilities they were laboring under, and, above all, the outrageous and intolerable limitation as to marriage, which permitted only a certain number of Jews to be married at a time.[1] We have no evidence that this letter was ever forwarded, much less that Congress ever acted upon it, but it is probable that the conditions outlined in it directed German-Jewish migration to Philadelphia soon after this date. Such migration was responsible for the founding in Philadelphia of the Congregation Rodeph Shalom, which has recently celebrated its centennial anniversary.[2] Probably the same current of migration had led to the founding of Jewish communities a little earlier in Lancaster and other places in Pennsylvania and Maryland.[3]

Meanwhile in Germany, the Jewish inhabitants, whose hopes and ideals had been elevated by the writings of Dohm and Mendelssohn, for a brief interval secured a taste of freedom, when Napoleon's occupation of German territory temporarily repealed Jewish disabilities. But these harsh religious discriminations were reimposed during the reactionary period following the battle of Waterloo, and the result was a strong tide of German-Jewish migration towards America, particularly from Bavaria and Baden. It is interesting, in this connection, to read a letter written in 1807, by a member of the Bleichroeder family of Berlin. He writes from New York where he has just landed, to his relatives at home, and the publication in the Berlin Jewish periodical *Ha Measeph*, at the time, probably attracted con-

[1] See somewhat fuller translation of this letter in the *Jewish Times*, November 18 and 25, 1870.

[2] Compare Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 70 *et seq.*, and Krauskopf, "Half a Century of Judaism in the United States," *Am. Jews' Annual*, 1883.

[3] Compare article by Dr. J. H. Hollander in *Publications*, II, p. 42, V. 117; also, *Biography of Joseph Simon*, I, 121; Markens' *Hebrews in America*, p. 78 *et seq.*, and *Am. Jews' Annual*, 1893, p. 96.

siderable attention at home. A translation of the letter in question, throwing light on New York conditions of the day, is given below.[1]

The theory that this current of German-Jewish migration dates from 1848 is completely refuted by the frequent and explicit references to this immigration, both in Jewish and non-Jewish sources, published prior to 1848, as well as by the establishment in New York and elsewhere of numerous German-Jewish congregations prior to that year.

To illustrate this point, we may quote a paragraph from one of Mrs. L. Maria Childs' *Letters from New*

[1] I am indebted to A. S. Freidus, Esq., of the Judaica Department of the New York Public Library, for calling my attention to the letter, which translated, reads as follows :

"News by Mail. *Situation of the Jews of the United States of America.* (Passages from a letter, dated New York, July 20, 1807, from a son of the Jewish family Bleichroeder, resident here, to his parents and relatives.)

"For all the inconveniences of a toilsome journey by water and land experienced by me, only a small part of which I have acquainted you with, dearest parents and brothers and sisters, I find myself fully reimbursed through the acquisition of valuable experience. . . . Among the number of the happy residents of this New World, all our co-religionists located here may also be included. These, who are little, if at all distinguishable from our brethren in Europe in their religious customs, are composed of natives and immigrants. The latter have, in respect to social refinement and culture, a great advantage over the former. In spite of this both are treated by the Government here with equal mildness. In fact no distinctions are recognized in this State with respect to religion in its bearings upon political rights and privileges. Yes, it is even the case that several of the naturalized foreign Jews here have succeeded in securing important positions as members of official bodies, military officers, etc. It is particularly this cultured class of Jews which has treated me so generously and assisted me with advice and deed. . . . If God will grant to the world universal peace, and the seas will cease to separate us, I shall have opportunity frequently and with greater particularity to write to you further on this subject."

The German, in which the letter is couched, is particularly elegant.

York (p. 42), written on September 23, 1841, dealing with the Jews of New York, in which she says: "Last week a new synagogue was consecrated in Attorney Street, making, I believe, five Jewish synagogues in this city, comprising in all about ten thousand of this ancient people. The congregation of the new synagogue are German emigrants, driven from Bavaria, the Duchy of Baden, etc., by oppressive laws. One of these laws forbade Jews to marry; and among the emigrants were many betrothed couples, who married as soon as they landed on our shores, trusting their future support to the God of Jacob. If not as 'rich as Jews,' they are now most of them doing well in the world; and one of the first proofs they gave of their prosperity was the erection of a place of worship."

Israel Joseph Benjamin, a German-Jewish traveler, who published about 1862, a two-volume work entitled, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, 1859-1862, throws considerable light on early German-Jewish settlements, and most of his statements on these points seem to be approximately correct. Besides making the customary investigations of the traveler and sight-seer, he took pains to meet the best-informed Jewish residents. He suggests that this second or German-Jewish migration to America began about 1836, and increased year by year thereafter. (I, p. 45.) He also points out that Bavaria contributed the largest quota of immigrants, because of her peculiarly harsh marriage laws and commercial restrictions. The early German settlers commonly arrived here without means, frequently without any education other than of the most rudimentary character. Mr. Benjamin well sums up the secret of their success as follows: "They brought along, however, as staff and support over the unpromising beginning, optimism joined with sound common sense, trust in God, and a ready arm, besides indefatigable industry and inexhaustible perseverance, together with those peculiarly Jewish traits, economy and sobriety." For many, the peddling stage was the first round in the ladder of success, the

profits of the first few weeks being employed in paying off the original liabilities for the stock in trade; then horses and wagons were acquired in order to place their business on a more imposing basis. A fair share of the profits soon found its way back to Germany, to aid dependent parents or relatives. In consequence, many others at home were impelled to exploit this land of golden promise, and so the numbers of immigrants constantly increased. These peddling tours carried the new arrivals over large tracts of territory, and led to new Jewish settlements near and far. That the unfamiliar liberty here enjoyed in some cases led also to license, must also be conceded by the unbiased historian, in view of contemporary records and references. The extent of the German-Jewish migration is indicated by the fact, noted by the German writer Gerstäcker, in his *Amerikanische Wald- und Strombilder*, published in 1849, after many years residence and travel in America, that not one-twentieth of the German immigrants to America were Christians. This passage was quoted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, vol. 13, p. 649.

As New York City has maintained the largest German-Jewish population throughout the century, a little fuller consideration of the formation of Jewish congregations here, will not be out of place. In 1825, a second congregation (Bnai Jeshurun) was formed, which adopted the English ritual, instead of the Portuguese in vogue in the Shearith Israel Congregation, which had been the only Jewish synagogue in New York for over a century. There were some Germans among its members. By 1830, possibly some years before, a distinctively German congregation was organized, which took the name Anshe Chesed; this was for many years the largest German-Jewish congregation in the United States, and became one of the constituent congregations of the Congregation Temple Beth El, when the latter was organized in 1874. In 1840, a Polish congregation was organized with the name Shaaray Zedek; in 1841 a fifth

congregation, which took the name Shaaray Hashomayim, was formed, with a German ritual, this being the one before referred to in the passage from Mrs. Childs. Two years later, in 1842, the Rodeph Shalom congregation, also German was organized, and in 1862, twenty-three different existing congregations were enumerated by Mr. Benjamin.[1] The religiousness and piety of these early immigrants is clearly indicated by the number and size of these congregations, which kept pace with the growth of Jewish population. The same facts suggest another characteristic, presently to be referred to, the independence of thought, liberty and self-assertiveness of the immigrants, which impelled each little body or clique to form a separate and distinct congregation for itself, in which their own shades of belief and dogma might find expression, instead of coalescing and consolidating into a few large congregations or organizations. Much light is thrown on the character and purposes of these early immigrants by a few incidents in the early history of the Ansche Chesed Congregation in New York. So humble were the beginnings of this congregation that about 1830, when it was organized, it met for service in a small rented room, to which each member, on Fridays in winter, would bring his piece of wood to be used as fuel in order to render the meeting-place warm enough for use.[2] Soon, however, the members became numerous and prosperous enough to build a synagogue in Henry Street, which was consecrated on Passover, 1840. The acquisition of a minister during all this time had been quite out of the question, and the services consisted solely of the reading of their orthodox ritual by a *hazan*. At length, in 1845, three

[1] Benjamin, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, vol. 1; *Statistics of Jews of the U. S*, published by the Union of Am. Hebrew Cong., 1880.

[2] See Temple Beth El Dedication Number of the *American Hebrew*, Sept. 18, 1891, containing a "History of the Beth El Congregation" by the writer; also the earlier sources, Benjamin, *Drei Jahre in Amerika*, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, New York Correspondence, beginning vol. 10, p. 18 etc.

of the four German congregations of the city joined forces, and engaged as their Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, who had arrived here shortly before with a brilliant reputation established abroad. Chief among these congregations was Ansche Chesed. The three together, had a total membership of over 700; yet, by their combined efforts, only a salary of $1000 could be secured for their Rabbi, so humble were their circumstances. Dr. Lilienthal himself, probably erroneously, called this the first appointment of a minister by an American-Jewish congregation, the few other earlier leaders of congregations having been hazanim, to whose regular functions, those of a rabbi were occasionally added. That Dr. Lilienthal's three congregations kept him busy, is beyond question. However, he devised the following system, so as to satisfy and administer to all three: every Sabbath morning the service was read at the same hour in each synagogue, but after the reading was over, the members of two of the congregations hurried to the synagogue of the third, so as to hear Dr. Lilienthal's German sermon, each synagogue being in turn selected as the place at which he preached. His labors, however, proved extremely arduous in consequence of hostility to his systematic and well-directed efforts to reform existing abuses, and difficulties arose which induced him in 1849 to sever his connection with all but the Ansche Chesed Congregation, and with that also the next year.

Meanwhile, as already pointed out, the newly-arrived German Jews wandered all over the country and settled at the most distant places. At first, the absence of a *minyan* among the Jewish settlers, or their poverty, prevented them from starting congregations, but soon new congregations sprang up all over the land, particularly among the German-Jewish immigrants. The number of separate congregational or institutional, historical sketches that have already appeared, is much larger than is generally supposed. It is of course quite beyond the scope of the

present paper to enlarge upon these different histories, a useful purpose may, however, be served by collecting references to some of these sketches, even though they are of unequal merit, and though each must be conceded to be incomplete. Of course, much light is thrown on the early Philadelphia German-Jewish settlers by Henry S. Morais' work, *The Jews of Philadelphia.* As regards New York we may refer to the very interesting sketch of Temple Emanuel, contained in the valuable book devoted to a history of that congregation by the late Myer Stern. The history of Temple Beth El contained in the "Dedication Number" issued by the *American Hebrew*, has already been referred to. A pamphlet history of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation of New York was issued on the occasion of its 50th anniversary in 1892. Considerable light on all the Jewish congregations and institutions of New York was afforded by the *Souvenir Book of the Fair* in aid of the Educational Alliance and the Hebrew Technical Institute, published in 1895, as also by the more general works of Markens, and the collection of *Statistics of the Jews of the United States*, published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in 1880, and the work of I. J. Benjamin, already referred to.

As to the B'ne Israel Congregation of Cincinnati, see the interesting historical sketch published on the occasion of its 70th anniversary by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson in 1894. A sketch of the Har Sinai Congregation of Baltimore was published as a souvenir on the occasion of its 50th anniversary in 1892; and the California Jewish Community has been several times written up by Dr. Voorsanger in the pages of the *American Jews' Annual* (No. 5, 1889, pp. 50-66), and in his own *Pacific Jewish Annual* (vol. 1, pp. 7-37).[1] Dr. B. Felsenthal has set forth the early

[1] Since the above was written, Dr. Voorsanger has published an admirable and scholarly history of his congregation in San Francisco, in book form, entitled *The Chronicles of Emanu El* in celebration of its 50th anniversary in 1900.

history of the Chicago Jewish Community in his pamphlet, entitled "The Beginnings of the Chicago Sinai Congregation."[1]

Details of the Charleston Jewish Community have been given by Dr. Philipson in his "The Progress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (October, 1897) and in Isaac Harby's *Collected Writings*. The Buffalo Jewish Community was described by Rev. S. Falk in a paper entitled "A History of the Israelites in Buffalo" (*Buffalo Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. I). These special treatises must be supplemented by references to contemporary Jewish journalism, particularly to the pages of the *Occident*, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the *Asmonean*, the *Sinai*, the *Jewish Messenger*, the *American Israelite*, the *American Hebrew* and the *Jewish Times*. See also: "A Sketch of Judaism in America" by Isaac M. Wise (*Am. Jews' Annual*, vol. I, 1885); "Half a Century of Judaism in the United States" by Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf (*Am. Jews' Annual*, vol. IV, 1888); criticisms of the latter by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, entitled, "Some Plain and Telling Words Regarding Rabbi J. Krauskopf" (*Am. Hebrew*, December 30, 1887, January 6, 1888); Rupp's *Religious Denominations of the United States*, article on the Jews by Isaac Leeser, 1844; Halliday's *The Church in America and its Baptism of Fire*, 1896 (Jews and Judaisn in America, by Max J. Kohler, pp. 574-588); "A Sketch of the Beginnings of Jewish Congregational Life in America," by M. J. Kohler (*Pacific Jews' Annual*, vol. 3, 1899); "The Jews of New York," by Dr. Wheatley, (*The Century*, January and February, 1892.)[2]

[1] Compare also the recently published special issue of the *Reform Advocate*, of May 4, 1901, on *The Jews of Illinois*, by Herman Eleassof, edited by Dr. E. G. Hirsch, and also a *History of Congregation Beth El*, Detroit, Michigan, 1850–1900, published in 1900.

[2] See also the bibliography of sketches of Jewish congregations in New York City, prepared by A. S. Freidus, Esq., for the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, May, 1901, pp. 198–200.

Recognition should also be made of the higher class of German-Jewish immigrants who came over here in 1848 and thereafter. Political persecution and reactions at this time induced many people of high culture, and frequently of means, to migrate to this land of freedom, and the example thus set by victims of political persecution spurred on other immigrants as well, who were not obliged by pecuniary necessity to commence as low down on the commercial ladder of success, as peddling represents. On the other hand, the discovery of gold in California tempted the more venturesome. Partly through the influence of these more cultured immigrants, partly in consequence of their own innate love for culture and self-improvement, the German-Jewish settlers in America proceeded to develop and inculcate love of education, refinement, learning, comfort, religion, charity and benevolence in all their phases, and to actively identify themselves as American citizens with our national, civil and political life. Ghettos were not permitted to exist at that time, and while Jews actively figured in American politics, it was not as leaders of any "solid Jewish vote." Some of these features are indicated in an extremely suggestive passage from a private letter, written by no less distinguished a German-American citizen than Francis Lieber in 1869, to the great jurist Professor Bluntschli—a letter which was, of course, not written for publication (*Life and Letters of Francis Lieber*, p. 390). Lieber there said: "The applications of Germans for all possible appointments is at present enormous, the Jews among them being naturally in the majority. The German Jews in America gain in influence daily, being rich, intelligent and educated, or at least seeking education. They read better books than the rest of the Germans, the booksellers tell me. How does this happen?"

When we come to consider some of the aspects of German-Jewish success in the United States, we observe that these immigrants reflected in advanced form, some of the most

marked characteristics of the German generally. We note the same remarkable and unusual combination of an extreme love for liberty in all its phases, existing side by side with a genius for organization, order and systematization. This combination of characteristics led, on the one hand, to the development of distinct and independent congregations representing every phase of belief and culture, and on the other hand, to the remarkable creation of an enormous number of distinct well-conducted and well-systematized organizations of the most varied character.[1] Partly because of their enormously increased numbers, partly because of their inherent characteristics, the German Jews proceeded to thrust aside the established Portuguese system of making the synagogue itself the centre of charitable and social as well as religious life, and innumerable separate organizations of a charitable, fraternal, literary or social character sprang up. The result was that the synagogue was no longer the centre of Jewish life in all its phases. In this fact lies the explanation of many of the distinctively American characteristics of our contemporary communal Jewish life. Many of these separate organizations developed in scope and degree, in a manner such as could never have been anticipated—a development not reached by our coreligionists abroad. On the other hand, interests became diversified, and a pronounced tendency towards specialized charitable, fraternal, literary or social organization away from Synagogue activities, resulted.

It may be appropriate to conclude this sketch of the German Jew in America, with an extract from the very suggestive characterization of his work, contained in a paper, published by Rev. Dr. K. Kohler in the *Menorah Monthly*,

[1] Compare, for instance, the interesting series of articles on the "History of the Independent Order of the B'ne B'rith," by Julius Bien, *Menorah Monthly*, beginning vol. I, No. 1, (July, 1896); also 50th Anniversary Exercises, *Menorah Monthly*, October and November, 1893.

(Nov., 1888) on "The Three Elements of American Judaism" (the Portuguese, German and Polish), in which the German Jew was portrayed as follows:

"The German Jew's once noble stature was bent at an early age by sore oppression. His pride was crushed by unceasing persecution. But in this fiery ordeal his heart was purified, his sentiment refined and deepened. He has no great philosophers to boast of, but the saintliest of martyrs, the noblest types of moralists, were his. His home life was distinguished by greater purity, woman's dignity was more recognized, polygamy more rigorously condemned by him. They say that sadness elicits the sweet strains from the breast of the nightingale. So does the melodious song of the German Jew re-echo the woe of the Crusades. But he also caught up the music and song, the humor and wit, the folklore and custom of the German people. He entered in closer sympathies with German life. German became to him the sacred language of home, the holy mother tongue. His mind was impregnated with German sentiment; he was no longer an Oriental. His ethics is more humanitarian. And when after a long and dreary winter, Mendelssohn and Lessing appeared like princes to redeem the sleeping beauty, German literature and sentiment, from a long sleep, both Jew and Gentile celebrated the resurrection. * * * * What France and America have done towards liberating men, German thought did towards emancipating the human mind. In this great work of individual freedom, the German Jews took a prominent part, not only individually, through such men as Mendelssohn, Heine, Boerne, Auerbach, Riesser, Kompert, Meyerbeer, but as a body. For all have, knowingly or unknowingly, imbibed the idealism of Schiller, Lessing and Jean Paul. They felt that religion is something more than mere form. All the enlightened had learned from Mendelssohn that religion exists for the sake of man, not for the sake of a sect. * * * *

"True enough, the large host of German Jews that first

landed in America were far from being philosophers or idealists, or even enlightened. But while battling bravely and successfully for independence, manhood, honor and social position, until the integrity, the wisdom and skill of the German Jews made themselves felt in every city and in every market and exchange throughout the land, they learned how to use their plain common-sense, and apply it also to Jewish life. * * * * As Jewish opulence is manifested by palatial residences, why should not also gorgeous temples and grand edifices devoted to charity tell of the prosperity and gratitude of the Jew? The German Jew improved and reformed our religious and charitable institutions, built those magnificent structures which are the pride and the glory of American Judaism, enlarged the scope of our work of benevolence, created most of our fraternities, our chief institutions of learning, setting up philanthropy as the aim and the ideal of Judaism. They accorded to the Jewish woman a place in the field of religion and charity. Rebecca Gratz, the heroine of Ivanhoe, the founder of the Jewish Sunday-school, was the daughter of a German. German idealism made the Jewish cause triumphant everywhere. German Jews gave, in large numbers, their life-blood for American greatness in the late war, and German Jews are found to be the intermediators of culture, workers for broad philanthropic and humanitarian ideas. America, with its vast conglomeration of races and sects, needs the German Jew as a cosmopolitan agency, as a cementing link; he is in greatest consonance with her ideal of God-fearing, law-abiding, large-hearted citizenship."

FRANCIS SALVADOR,

A Prominent Patriot of the Revolutionary War.

By Leon Hühner, A. M., LL.B., *New York.*

The Jews of the South during the American Revolution proved conclusively, not only that Jews were staunch patriots but also that they were willing to shed their blood as well as risk their fortunes in their country's cause. In South Carolina and in Georgia, the great majority of the Jews entered the ranks and did good service on the field of battle.[1] The names of several of these patriots have been handed down to posterity, and yet the one who was perhaps the most prominent of all has been comparatively neglected.

Most of the Jewish patriots throughout the colonies were merchants who had worked their way up by the road of commerce. Some, like Haym Salomon of Pennsylvania assisted the American cause financially, others like Col. Franks were soldiers. The subject of the present sketch was reared in luxury. He placed his fortune at the disposal of his adopted country; he fought for that country on the field of battle, and besides this, takes rank with the leaders of the Revolution in South Carolina, as the colleague of Rutledge, of Pinckney and of Drayton. His career was unfortunately brief, yet it was as brilliant as it was brief. The name of the Jewish patriot to whom I refer is Francis Salvador.

It may be interesting to digress here, in order to give a brief account of the Salvador family. Picciotto, in his Anglo-

[1] See *Topographical, Historical and other Sketches of Charleston*, by J. L. E. W. Shecut, 1819.

Jewish History, states that the family came to England from Holland, bringing with them considerable wealth.[1] Their name was originally Jessurum Rodriguez and the date of their arrival is uncertain. Certain it is, however, that during the middle of the last century, the house of Francis Salvador, and subsequently that of his sons, Joseph and Jacob Salvador, ranked among the foremost in England, and its members were numbered among the merchant princes of that country.[2] Joseph Jessurum Rodriguez, known as Joseph Salvador, was the President of the Portuguese Congregation of London and also the first Jewish Director in the East India Company. He was a noted philanthropist, and his firm made frequent loans to the British Government.[3]

At the accession of George III, the Jews appointed seven delegates to offer the respects of the Portuguese nation to His Majesty; Joseph Salvador was one of these. He appears to have been the Chairman of these delegates and through the King's Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, procured the desired audience. It is stated that Mr. Salvador was most affably received by the Duke and succeeded in presenting the address of the Committee to the King.[4] The family was beyond doubt the most distinguished in the congregation, and many of the names of its members may be

[1] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, London, 1875, p. 161.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162. The author also gives in detail several of Salvador's philanthropic ventures.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 116. On November 23, 1760, the Lord Chamberlain assured the deputies "that his Majesty had been pleased to accept with great pleasure the respectful expressions of the Hebrew community; his Majesty felt a regard for the Jews; he was aware of their good qualities and he would always bear them in his favour and his estimation."

The Joseph Salvador here mentioned was the uncle of our patriot and figured repeatedly and prominently on public occasions. See also *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 167.

found inscribed on the walls of the Council Chamber of the Portuguese Congregation at London.[1]

The name also appears in American history as early as 1732. It was doubtless in connection with his many philanthropic schemes for assisting the needy and persecuted of his race that Francis Salvador, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, became associated with Anthony da Costa and Alvaro Lopez Suasso. These gentlemen obtained permission from the trustees of Oglethorpe's Colony in Georgia, to take up collections to send settlers to that part of America. It subsequently appears that they sent about forty Jewish families to Georgia, and that the commissions granted were revoked in consequence, the trustees declaring that "they cannot conceive but the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the colony." [2]

It is also stated that the house of Joseph and Jacob Salvador bought considerable tracts of land in South Carolina and elsewhere in America. This land subsequently became exceedingly valuable.[3]

Wealth, however, is exceedingly unstable, misfortune will come when least expected. Two events equally sudden, swallowed up the vast fortune of these merchant princes. One was the earthquake at Lisbon where their interests were considerable, and the other, by far the more important, was the failure of the Dutch East India Company. Finally, all

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[2] See *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by Rev. George White, 1855, pp. 328-9, where the correspondence on the subject is given in detail. Also Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 65.

[3] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 163. It is also related that in 1802 an American called on Salvador's daughter, Mrs. Texeira de Mattos and offered her $10,000 to sign a deed giving up all claim to the American property. The offer was declined, but the stranger came again in 1812 and stated that the land was covered with villages and towns, that he held the title but that he wanted to clear up whatever cloud there was upon it. The lady who was about eighty years old at the time, thereupon accepted the money and signed the deed. See *Ibid.*, p. 164.

that remained of the immense wealth outside of a slender fortune was the tract of land in America, which was in charge of a steward.[1]

Thereupon, Francis Salvador, the subject of our sketch, undertook a voyage to the New World in order to retrieve the family fortunes. We are told that in due time letters came advising of his safe arrival and announcing his intention of seeking his property. "He never wrote again," says Picciotto, "a long silence ensued, and then it was reported that the unhappy man had been murdered and scalped by Indians."[2]

This is the meagre information that can be gleaned from English sources. Turning now to sources of Revolutionary history on this side of the ocean, we learn that he was the son of Jacob Salvador, to whom reference has been made. He lost his father while but two years of age. His brother resided at the Hague, having married a daughter of Baron Suasso.[3]

On coming of age young Salvador inherited 60,000 pounds sterling, married the daughter of Joseph Salvador, the philanthropist, and received with her a dowry of thirteen thousand pounds. After his marriage he resided at Twickenham, near his mother and step-father, Abraham Prado.[4]

We see, therefore, that this man was born to wealth and reared in luxury, nor had his education been neglected. In the words of Chief Justice Drayton, the famous Revolutionary patriot: "He was liberally educated by a private tutor

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[2] *Ibid.* See also *London Remembrancer*, Part II, p. 319.

[3] *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, by John Drayton, LL. D., 1821, vol. II, pp. 347–8. The memoirs referred to are those of Chief Justice William Henry Drayton, published by his son, Governor John Drayton. The tribute to our hero's memory contained in the *Memoirs*, coming as it does from a man of the education and prominence of Drayton, is therefore of more than passing interest. See *Appleton's Cyclopedia of Amer. Biography* (1898), vol. II, p. 229.

[4] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348.

and by the best masters, and was taught those accomplishments suitable to his wealth and rank in life." He had travelled extensively, particularly through France.[1] From other sources, we learn that the misfortunes already referred to led to his coming to South Carolina about the end of 1773, with the intention of settling. He left his wife and four children in England, hoping to send for them as soon as possible.[2]

At the time of his arrival he was certainly no more than thirty-five or forty years of age. He probably brought some wealth with him, for it is related that when he left England, his cousin, Mrs. Mendes da Costa, gave up a part of her marriage settlement to furnish funds for the expedition.[3] At any rate, within a year of his arrival, in 1774, he purchased lands in South Carolina, and not wishing to live alone, resided with his most intimate friend, Richard A. Rapley, of Coroneka, commonly called Cornacre.[4]

Of all the Jewish patriots of our Revolution, not one perhaps, possessed such advantages of wealth and education as did Salvador.[5] He had every qualification to become the intimate friend of the foremost men of the day.

At this period, all of the Colonies were more or less agitated by the attitude of Great Britain. The Revolutionary spirit was ripening. In South Carolina lines had long since been drawn between Whig and Tory—between

[1] *Id.*, p. 348. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 163.

[4] Drayton's *Memoirs*, as relating to the State of South Carolina, vol. II, p. 348.

[5] Since this paper was written, Mr. Kohn, the editor of the *News and Courier*, of Columbia, S. C., has called my attention to the interesting fact that the Library of the College of Charleston possesses the original grant of arms to Francis Salvador, grandfather of this Francis from the Herald's College, London. "It was granted to Mr. Salvador, and afterwards came into the possession of the late Judge Mitchell King, who presented it to the College Library."

the advocates of representative government and the blind adherents of the Crown. Nowhere, perhaps, did factional feeling run higher. A man of Salvador's temperament and education naturally took sides at once. The principles involved in the approaching struggle must have appealed to him with great force: the idea of liberty as against despotism. The idea of civil and religious emancipation must have had especial charms for him as a Jew, particularly in view of the agitation in England.[1] Without a moment's hesitation, he threw himself heart and soul into the patriot cause, not as a spectator merely, but essentially as a partisan in the struggle.

Accordingly, he became the intimate of the great leaders of the Colony, the friend of Pinckney, of Rutledge, of Laurens and of Hammond. With him, these patriots advised on some of the most important questions, as their correspondence abundantly shows.[2]

Such was the esteem in which he was held that when he had been but a year in the Colony he was elected a member of the General Assembly of South Carolina. He thus became one of the first Jews to represent the masses in a popular assembly.[3] This dignity he retained up to his untimely death which occurred about two years later.[4]

Meanwhile, the opposition to Great Britain had been growing constantly. The Non-importation Association was in existence, but comparatively ineffective in the South. A

[1] See Picciotto's *Sketches*, p. 162. Considerable feeling had been aroused in consequence of the passage of the Naturalization bill in 1753.

[2] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Also *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, by Robert Wilson Gibbes, 1776–1782, pp. 22, 24, 28. Also *History of Edgefield County, South Carolina*, by John A. Chapman, p. 150.

[3] The distinction of being the first belongs to Joseph Ottolengui of Georgia, who was elected to the Assembly of that colony as early as 1761, and remained a member until 1765.

[4] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Chapman's *History of Edgefield County*, p. 150.

Provincial Congress was organized in South Carolina and the delegates were elected by the inhabitants. General William Moultrie, the famous soldier, has preserved for us, in his memoirs, the names of the members of that historic assembly. The Congress assembled at Charlestown, on January 11, 1775, and the names of the delegates for St. Mark's, Ninety-six District, have all figured prominently in the annals of American history. Among these are Le Roy Hammond, Patrick Calhoun, John Louis Gervais, Edward Rutledge and Francis Salvador.[1]

As the subject of this sketch is repeatedly mentioned as belonging to the Jewish nation,[2] it was of interest to discover whether he had to violate any religious scruple before taking his seat in the Provincial Congress. No such obstacle existed, however. And even under the first state constitution members were simply required to take the oath to support the constitution of South Carolina; only the President being required to swear, in addition, to support the Protestant religion.[3]

The Congress chose Charles Pinckney for President, and remained in session for seven days discussing the entire critical situation. A bill of rights was framed, setting forth the grievances of the Colonists and stating "that they were entitled to life, liberty and property, and that they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent." A resolution of sympathy with Massachusetts was likewise adopted.[4] It was finally resolved, as appears from Moultrie's *Memoirs*, to appoint committees to carry out the provisions of the

[1] *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, so far as it relates to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, by William Moultrie, 1802, vol. I, pp. 16, 18. See also *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 1110.

[2] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348. Also Chapman's *History of Edgefield County*, p. 150.

[3] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 196, 257.

[4] Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 19, 27, 36.

Articles of Association. Those appointed were not necessarily members of the Congress nor were all of the latter appointed on these committees. Francis Salvador must have been a prominent member therefore, for he was appointed for Ninety-Six District along with Hammond, Calhoun, Moore and Kirkland.[1]

The Congress also prepared an address to the royal Governor setting forth the grievances of the Assembly. The Governor replied that he did not recognize the Provincial Congress and that body thereupon at once recommended that the inhabitants learn the use of arms. The 17th of February was set apart "as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer before Almighty God devoutly to petition him to inspire the King with true wisdom, to defend the people of North America in their just title to freedom and to avert the impending calamities of civil war."[2]

The members who took part in this Congress certainly ran grave chances of arrest for treason and confiscation of property.

The battle of Lexington in 1775 inflamed the South no less than the North. Open hostilities began in Carolina, and Salvador was among the first to take the field. Tories were plentiful in the northern part of the colony and William Henry Drayton, the patriot Chief Justice, at once pitched his camp ready for hostilities. The Tories thereupon sent representatives to camp and an agreement was drawn up which recited the disputes between Great Britain and North America, and also that a part of the people living between the Broad and the Saluda rivers declined to accede to the Association or obey the orders of the Continental Congress or the Council of Safety. It was then agreed that

[1] Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 44. The committee consisted of Col. James Mayson, Le Roy Hammond, Patrick Calhoun, Francis Salvador, William Moore, Moses Kirkland and William Calhoun. See also *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. I, p. 1114.

[2] Moultrie's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 46-56.

these Tories might live in peace but must not aid the British. Any offense against the compact was to be severely punished.

This interesting document concludes: "Done in Camp, near Ninety Six this 16th day of September, 1775." It is signed by six Tories, by William Henry Drayton, acting under the authority of the Committee of Safety, and for the patriots it is witnessed by Francis Salvador.[1]

It also appears that Rev. Dr. Tennent had been sent North by the Congress into the very heart of Toryism to persuade the loyalists that by joining the Association, "they were fighting not against, but for their country." In one letter, he gives an account of a sermon he delivered in Boonesborough and how, after the sermon, he addressed those present on the objects of his mission. The letter concludes: "In my efforts, I was ably seconded by Mr. Salvador."[2]

The second Provincial Congress of South Carolina was held at Charlestown in November, 1775. Salvador was a member of this as well as of the prior one.[3] From the records of that historic assembly, we can plainly see the great confidence reposed by his colleagues in his ability, his judgment and his fidelity.

With Pinckney and Middleton he was appointed to investigate the Cunningham troubles.[4] Subsequently with Ralph Izard and others we find Salvador appointed by the Congress as a committee "With all possible dispatch to stamp and any three of them to sign, and when stamped, signed and numbered, from time to time to deliver to the Colony Treasurers, bills amounting to 120,000 pounds for paying the army."[5]

[1] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 399-403. See also *Collections of Historical Society of South Carolina*, and *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen*, 3rd. ed., 1845, p. 627.

[2] *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, by Robert Wilson Gibbes, vol., 1764-1776, p. 232. See also *Charleston Year Books.*

[3] *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. IV, p. 27.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Again on February 6, 1776, our patriot was appointed by the Congress along with Major Pinckney, Colonel Richardson, Col. Gervais and Col. Thomas, "to inquire into the state of the interior parts of the colony—to consider what means are proper to be pursued to preserve the peace and secure the safety, and to prevent future commotions therein, and also to consider the cases of the State prisoners."[1] On February 21, Salvador appears to have presented to the Congress the report for his associates.[2]

He seems also to have been the chairman of an important ways and means committee, on which Mr. Neufville and other prominent patriots were associated with him. The detailed report of this committee was presented by Salvador, and authorized the committee of safety to borrow seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.[3]

That so high minded a man should believe in the economical use of public funds is certainly most natural, and we find evidence of it in this connection. When, in one instance, it was attempted to fix the salary of a President and Commander in Chief at ten thousand pounds a year, so determined was Salvador's opposition that the measure was defeated by the close vote of 25 to 27.[4]

The British, afraid of the aggressive patriots, soon adopted a despicable means of subjugation. In order to divert the attention of the patriots from British operations, they stirred up and assisted the Indians to make inroads and massacre the colonists.

Throughout this entire period, however, Salvador kept in close touch with the leading statesmen and commanders. In fact, Chief Justice Drayton appears to have staid at Salvador's plantation for some time previous to June 28, 1776.[5]

[1] *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. V, p. 564.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 577, see also p. 586.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 586, 589.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 597. See also for notices of Pinckney and Salvador, *Ibid.*, 4th Series, vol. V, pp. 582–3.

[5] Gibbes' *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1776–1782, p. 24 and note.

He was consulted on important questions, and the letters directed to him by military men are remarkable in the abundance of intricate information regarding military affairs contained therein.[1] Major Williamson, writing from Whitehall in June, 1776, mentions sending powder and bullets to Salvador and that he "has no letters from Charlestown than those which he showed to Mr. Salvador when there."[2]

The general assembly of South Carolina met again in March, 1776, and our patriot, being one of its members, took an active part in all of its deliberations. Several of the committees on which he served were of considerable importance and he was generally associated on them with the foremost men of his day. Thus on March 29, 1776, Col. Charles Pinckney, Col. Daniel Horry and Mr. Salvador were appointed "A committee to inquire and report the names of proper persons to be appointed Magistrates in the different districts of the Colony."[3]

On another occasion, a message was received by the assembly from the legislative council which concluded as follows: "As this house is of opinion that the said ordinance being a matter of importance requires several great alterations to be made thereto, we do therefore propose that a conference should be held on the same, to sit without delay, and request, you will please to appoint a committee to meet a committee of this house on this business. Our committee are, the Hon. Col. Pinckney, and the Hon. Mr. Bee." From the records it appears that the assembly at once voted, "that Col. Pinckney, the Hon. Mr. Drayton, Mr. Salvador and Mr. Matthews be a committee to confer with the committee of the legislative council."[4]

And so again and again Salvador's name is associated with that of the foremost men of the Commonwealth as a member

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24, 28, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22, etc.
[3] *American Archives*, 4th Series, vol. V, p. 620.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 637–8.

of the Assembly. His name is frequently mentioned in connection with that of Middleton, of De Saussure, of Elias Horry, of Bull, Locock and of Raply.[1]

Many efforts had been made by the patriots to conciliate the Cherokees, but John Stuart, the British superintendent, had won them over, and an attack against the frontier was prepared as a diversion in favor of British operations on the sea coast. Being informed that the British fleet had arrived off Charlestown, the Indians on July 1, 1776, poured down on the frontier of South Carolina, "massacring without distinction of age or sex, all persons who fell into their power." Salvador was informed by a refugee of the savage attack, and the annalist tells us: "that Mr. Salvador forthwith mounted his horse and galloped to Major Williamson residing 28 miles away and gave the alarm."[2] The people were helpless, destitute of arms and ammunition. On July 18, 1776, Salvador wrote to Drayton, giving a detailed description of what had happened. "The whole country was flying," he writes, "some to make forts, others as low as Orangeburg. Williamson was employed night and day sending expresses to raise the militia, but the panic was so great that on Wednesday, the major and myself marched to the late Captain Smith's with only forty men. We have been gradually increasing ever since, though all the men in the county were loth to turn out till they had secured some kind of fancied security for their families. However, we had last night 500 men." Here follows a detailed account of a battle. The letter concludes: "I will not trouble you with more particulars as Major Williamson will send a circumstantial account to his Excellency (Rutledge). I am afraid the burden of the war will fall on this regiment and that the people over the river will do nothing."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 626, 639, 641–2, 644, 648.

[2] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 340, etc. See also *London Remembrancer* for 1776. Part III, p. 50.

[3] Gibbes' *Documentary History*, 1776–82., pp. 24, etc. The letter is dated "Camp near Dewits' Corner," and is full of details. See also Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, pp. 340–1, 362–5.

In a letter dated July 19, 1776, he gives an account of another battle, and states that the Tories quitted the Indians after the repulse at Lindleys. He concludes, "we have this day increased to 600 men."[1]

Major Williamson, writing from his camp at Barker's Creek, on July 22, gives an account of an engagement, and adds: "Mr. Salvador has been with me since my first taking the field; he thinks of making a campaign to the nation."[2]

Our warrior's correspondence covers a whole range of affairs. He is informed of Clinton's movements; of the fleet in Charlestown Harbor; disputes in Provincial Congress between the Vice-president and Pinckney. He advises the promotion of individuals in the army, criticises the release of the notorious Cunningham, and many other subjects.[3]

In July, 1776, Drayton writes to Salvador concerning Charles Lee, as follows: "Lee is very clever and very positive; the most positive of the poetical fates was, I scarce believe, more positive. Every idea of his must be right and of course every contrary idea in every other person must be wrong. However, the general has been very unlucky in his ideas sometimes." Some of Lee's mistakes are here noted. "From the zeal we have and that only for the welfare of the Common Cause, we are content to be silent to him on that point also."[4]

Francis Salvador was ardently in favor of independence, but it is doubtful whether he ever knew that the Declara-

[1] See Gibbes' *Documentary History*, 1776–82, pp. 24, etc. This letter also shows Salvador's clear-headed action in regard to Cunningham.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26. See also *American Archives*, 5th series, vol. I, p. 489.

[3] Gibbes' *Documentary History*, page 28. See also the letters addressed to Salvador contained in this work. Concerning the release of Patrick Cunningham, he writes: "On the last accounts from town that Cunningham and his companions were set at liberty, we were near having a mutiny in camp." See also Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 350.

[4] Gibbes' *Documentary History*, vol. 1776–82, pp. 28, etc.

tion had been adopted. Although the Declaration had been adopted on the fourth of July, 1776, the news of the event does not seem to have reached the leaders of South Carolina until about three weeks later.[1]

On July 24, 1776, Drayton wrote to Salvador, as follows: "No news yet from Philadelphia; every ear is turned that way anxiously waiting for the word 'Independence.' I say, 'God speed the passage of it.' 'Amen,' say you."[2]

At this time Williamson and Salvador were at the head of an expedition against Tories and Indians. On this subject Drayton writes to him, as follows: "And now, a word to the wise; it is expected that you make smooth work as you go, that you cut up every Indian cornfield and burn every Indian town. For my part, I shall never give my voice to a peace with the Cherokee nation upon other terms than their removal beyond the mountains. That victory will conduct your march is the expectation of, dear Sir, your most humble and obedient servant, William Henry Drayton."[3]

It was while on this expedition that our patriot perished. On his way he received news of the American victory over the British fleet. Near Esseneka, at two o'clock in the morning on August 1, 1776, the Tories and Indians opened fire. Salvador was shot and falling among the bushes was discovered by the Indians and scalped.[4]

Williamson sent Lieutenant Farar in search of his comrade. The brutal act of the Indians had been observed by Captain Smith, who supposed that it was Mr. Salvador's servant assisting his master, and thereupon did not interfere.[5]

The account of his death as described by the contemporary historian is exceedingly pathetic, but too lengthy to be given

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 28, etc.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 346. This gives a very detailed account of the engagement.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 370.

here. It states that Salvador died in forty-five minutes, without being sensible that the savage act had been performed upon him.[1]

Major Williamson at once sent a report of the death of so well known a patriot to His Excellency John Rutledge, President of South Carolina. After giving considerable detail, the report concludes: "When I came up to him after dislodging the enemy and speaking to him, he asked whether I had beaten the enemy. I told him 'Yes'. He said he was glad of it, and shook me by the hand and bade me farewell and said he would die in a few minutes."[2]

His tragic death is mentioned in the correspondence of nearly every prominent man in South Carolina. Thus, Henry Laurens, President of the Council of Safety, at once wrote to John Laurens an account of the battle, adding: "Francis Salvador, a gentleman whose death is universally regretted, was killed in the battle."[3]

Drayton, in his memoirs, after mentioning Salvador's services in the assembly of South Carolina, speaks of him as having had a warm heart towards those in distress, and adds: "His fate excited universal regret. . . . His manners were those of a polished gentleman, and as such he was intimately known and esteemed by the first Revolutionary characters of South Carolina. He also possessed their confidence in a great degree as his literary correspondence with them sufficiently proves. . . . At the side of his friend, Major Williamson, he received those wounds which sacrificed his life in the service of his adopted country."[4]

Salvador remained true to the ancient faith. One historian speaks of him as follows: "He was a native of England but

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 347.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 370. See also Gibbes' *Documentary History*, vol., 1776–82.

[3] See *New York Historical Society Publications*, 1874 (Lee Papers), vol. II, p. 224. See also *American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. I, pp. 749, 780.

[4] Drayton's *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 348.

of Hebrew parents and a Hebrew in religion.[1] . . . He was a member of the General Assembly and warmly attached to the cause of Independence. . . . He was highly accomplished, honorable and generous; he lived honored and respected, and his death was much lamented."[2]

Thus perished this Jewish patriot. How remarkable was his career. In the brief period of three years he, a stranger, attained a prominent place in the history of his adopted country. As a Jew by birth and a Jew by religion, he sat in a representative assembly and in the Provincial Congress, and gained the esteem and friendship of the leading men of his day.

A recent historian of South Carolina opens his biographical note of our patriot with these words: "Mr. Salvador's name appears in every history of the State of South Carolina."[3] What further need is there of eulogy? What nobler tribute can be paid to his memory?

[1] *History of Edgefield County, S. C.*, by John A. Chapman, p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST GERMAN JEWISH CONGREGATION IN AMERICA.

By Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, *Philadelphia.*

The first systematic attempt, made in this country to secure accurate information in reference to the Jewish people in the United States and their various organizations, was made by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and published by them in September, 1880, in a book entitled, *Statistics of the Jews in the United States,* compiled under the authority of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Mr. William B. Hackenburg of Philadelphia, and the Hon. Simon Wolf of Washington were mainly instrumental in carrying out this effort. The date there given for the earliest congregation, organized by Jewish immigrants from Germany, is the year 1780. This is the date set for the founding of the "German Hebrew Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia." It has been impossible to verify this date, although it seems to be based upon a continuous tradition and there is no questioning the fact that in the precarious and evanescent life of the *'hebras,* which sprang up in the later years of the 18th century, lay the origin of this congregation.

The Congregation, Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia, has just celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its foundation, the celebration taking place December 21 to 23, 1900. The officers of the congregation felt justified in settling upon this date, through the discovery of a deed, dated November 23, 1801, conveying the plot of ground which, from its location, was well known to have belonged to the Congregation Rodeph Shalom. The deed is as follows :—

1801 DEED Thomas Warwick and Mary, his wife,
November 23d. to
Consideration, Leon Van Amringe, Isaiah Nathan, Isaac
$120.00 Marks, Aaron Levi, Junior, Abraham Gumpert and Abraham Moses, all of the County of Philadelphia, Gentlemen, their heirs and assigns.

For said lot or piece of ground marked in the plans of lots late of Joseph Watkins, No. 26, (part of premises in question) together with the free use, right, liberty and privilege of said 20 feet of land.

"IN TRUST, nevertheless and upon this special confidence only, That the said lot of ground be held, used and kept for and as a Burial place or ground for the Hebrew Tribe or Nation of and belonging to the Synagogue to which they, the said Grantees, now belonging in the said City and County of Philadelphia, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever."

Acknowledged, November 26th, 1801.
Recorded, October 8th, 1805, in Deed Book E. F., No. 22, pp. 156 etc.

It will be seen from this document, that the synagogue is therein referred to as being already in existence, and it is reasonable to suppose that not less than a year must have elapsed from the time of the organization to that of the acquisition of this property.

The charter of the congregation distinctly mentions the fact that its signers were citizens, and they must, therefore, have held residence for a sufficient number of years to acquire the same. The charter was issued in 1812 to the "Hebrew German Society Rodeph Shalom," on the application of Isaac Marks, Simon Cauffman, Alexander Benjamin, E.

Affenim, M. Spyers, Abraham Moses, Michael Levy, A. B. Cohen, Lyon Cadett, Lewis Allen, Jr., A. Gumpert and Mayer Ulman for Lewis Allen. It contains the following preamble:

"Whereas on the 10th day of October in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two (1802), the German Hebrews formed themselves into a Society in the city and county of Philadelphia, which was denominated the 'Hebrew German Society Rodeph Shalom' and whereas the society, having met as usual in the middle days of their Passover Feast, in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten, which was at the time of their last meeting, it was moved and seconded that the old articles of association should be abolished and to form a new constitution or articles of association, etc. Therefore the society have agreed, after due deliberation, to the following articles of the association."

It is interesting to glean from these articles, that the prayers were to be "performed according to the German and Dutch rules and not to be altered." It is evident from this that there were Dutch as well as German members in the congregation and that the question of ritual was a compromise between them. It is observable also from collateral records that the Mickve Israel Congregation, organized by the descendants of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews and founded in 1782, also contained Jews of German descent. Indeed, there seems to have been more or less transferring of memberships and we find that the Allen family furnished Presidents for both congregations. Among the duties of the president was the "maintenance of strict order during public worship, appointing the time for prayers in the synagogue, naming the person to act as Reader, and appointing the time and place where Passover bread should be baked." The affairs of the congregation were conducted by him with the assistance of a cashier and a junta of two members. The annual income at that time was secured by offerings, each member donating not less than four dollars. A fine of twenty-five cents was

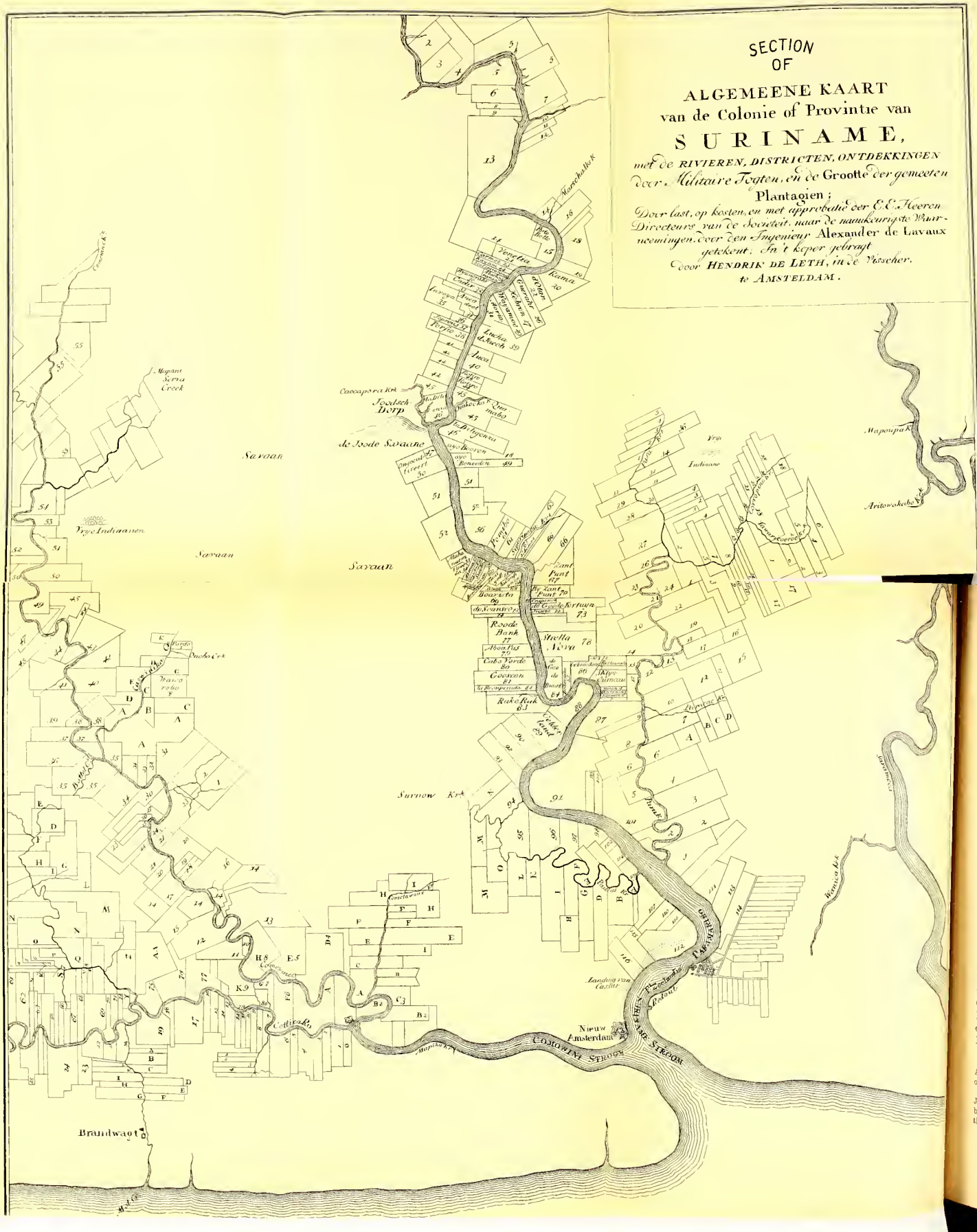
imposed upon every member who failed to attend the services on Friday evening or Saturday morning, absence from the city, or sickness, being the only valid excuses. Withdrawal from the synagogue before the services were concluded was likewise subjected to a fine of twenty-five cents.

In 1839, the synagogue of the congregation was laid in ashes, and its earliest records destroyed. None the less, tradition has fortified the fragmentary annals that remain. From these the following items have been compiled. The services were originally conducted by the laymen. The first cantor was elected in 1819. His name was Jacob Lipman, and he was familiarly known as "Rabbi Jakey." He received a salary of fifty dollars per annum. It was not until the middle of the century that a healthy growth manifested itself. Rodeph Shalom had become the refuge and religious home of the steadily increasing number of immigrants from the German Fatherland. In 1847 the synagogue on Juliana Street was dedicated. A modest place indeed, yet, after the many wanderings from rented halls to temporary synagogues, a settlement in this fixed abode brought with it a new dignity. This was illustrated and exemplified by none of the leaders so much, as by the man who came to stand in the pulpit and whose memory abides as a blessing, *hazan* Jacob Fraenkel.

Three mighty tides of influence passed from Germany into the very life's currents of Rodeph Shalom congregation. The Revolution of 1848 had stimulated the patriotic sentiment of the people to an intense pitch. The intellectual renaissance of the Jews, which followed the Mendelssohn era, had created the new "science of Judaism," and then came the movement for Reform. This honest and serious effort to square the religious practices of the Jewish people, with the changed conditions of life, also had its source in Germany. When, after the brief ministries of Rev. Louis Solomon, Rev. Bernard Iloway and Rev. Henry Vidaver, the congregation sought a permanent incumbent for this pulpit,

a man was selected in whom these three throbbing impulses of action were exemplified. The Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow, now the revered Rabbi Emeritus, came in 1866. He had personally suffered at the hands of European despots, because of his brave and patriotic advocacy of the rights of the people. His scholarship had already made him recognized as an exponent of "the science of Judaism," and in the building of this synagogue in 1869 and the creation of a new and revised ritual, he championed the cause of Reform. A wholesome conservatism, advocated by him, acted as a check on the precipitate transformations urged by many. Changes were to be the product of growth and ripeness. His ministry brought the congregation to its place of leadership among the synagogues of the land.

The closing decade of the last century has been devoted, under the active rabbinate of the writer of these notes, to energetic efforts towards constructive re-organization, especially along educational lines. The school founded in 1841, with an elaborate edifice erected in 1887, has developed into the "Rodeph Shalom Institute," having for adults, as well as children and youths, religious classes, circles for the study of Jewish history and literature, and the Assembly for Bible study.


SECTION
OF
ALGEMEENE KAART
van de Colonie of Provintie van
SURINAME,
met de RIVIEREN, DISTRICTEN, ONTDEKKINGEN
door Militaire Togten, en de Grootte der gemeeten
Plantagien;
Door last, op kosten, en met approbatie der E.E. Heeren
Directeurs van de Societeit, naar de naaukeurigste Waar-
neemingen, door den Ingenieur Alexander de Lavaux
getekent. En 't koper gebragt
door HENDRIK DE LETH, in de Visscher.
te AMSTELDAM.
Saraan
Saraan
Saraan
de Joode Saraane
Joodsch Dorp
Vrye Indianen
Vrye Indianen
Surnow Kr.
Braamwaart
Nieuw Amsterdam
COMEWYNE STROOM
MARIE STROOM
Landing van Casiari
Maroni R.
Aritowoskebo R.
Wanica R.
Commewyne R.
Cottica R.
Boom
Fort
Redout

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SURINAM.

By Professor Richard Gottheil, *Columbia University, New York.*

While rummaging, a few years ago, in the book shops of Amsterdam, I came across a number of charts and maps of Surinam, which are of interest for the local history of the Jews there and more particularly in Paramaribo. These maps are not dated; but I believe I am not wrong in placing them somewhere between the years 1750 and 1780.

The oldest and the largest bears the title: Algemeene Kaart van de Colonie of Provintie van Suriname. . . Door last, op kosten, en met approbatie der E. E. Herren Directeurs van de Societeit, naar de naaukeurigste Waarneemingen, door den Ingenieur Alexander de Lavaux getekent; In't Koper gebragt door Hendrik de Leth. . . [1] According to Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenbock*, de Leth lived in the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the catalogue of M. Nijhoff, (No. 298, *Americana*, p. 104), the date of the map is given as "circa 1750." This map gives a detailed picture of all the plantations in the Colony, and shows the exact position of the "Joodsche Dorp" and the "Joode Savaane."[2] Upon an English map, drawn by Captain Edward Thompson and published in 1781, I find "Jews' town" also mentioned. (See the *Report of the*

[1] Philippe Fermin, *Description. . . de la Colonie de Suriname*, Amsterdam, 1769, has reprinted this map. The names of the owners of the plantations are, however, not given.

[2] A small reproduction of this map is also to be found in Jan Jacob Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, Amsterdam, 1770, p. 520; but it contains merely the skeleton, without either the names of the plantations or their owners.

Venezuela Boundary Commission, vol. iv, Atlas, p. 43, Washington, February, 1897.)

I have selected in the following list those plantations which evidently belonged to Jews. I have used as guide the names of the owners, which are a pretty certain indication; where I have been in doubt, I have indicated the doubt by an interrogation point. The names given to the plantations might have served as an additional check; but by the side of names which are undoubtedly Jewish, *e. g.*, Rama, Carmel, Hebron, Moria, Mahanaem, Sucoht, Bersaba, Nahamoe, Haran and Petak Enaim, occur others of native or Dutch origin. For the sake of easier reference I have added the names of the Plantations in parentheses. With the exception of three on the Caswinika Creek, all are along the River Surinam—showing, how the Jews, even here, naturally clustered together. On the Corropine Creek and the River Para, there are some plantations belonging to a family Pallak. I am not sure that this is a form of "Pollak," and have, therefore, omitted it. The numbering is that of the map itself.

PLANTATIONS ON THE CASWINIKA CREEK.[1]		ACRES.
F.	E. R. R. de Prado (Waico rebo).	2300
I.	Pardo (Prado?).	300
K.	G. Jacobs (?).	

PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.		ACRES.
15.	Widow of Jo. Co. Nassi (Porto Bello).	800
20.	Sa. Meza.	1000
21.	Ishak de David Meza (Venetia).	1000
22.	Solomon Meza (d'Otan).	1000
23.	I. Gr. de Fonseca (Carmel).	
24.	Abraham Cohen Nassi (Kayam).	
25.	David Cohen Nassi (bon Esperansca).	

[1] An offshoot of the Comowine River.

	PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.	ACRES.
26.	Abraham de Brito (Guerahr).	
27.	Moses Nuñez Henriquez (Hebron).	
28.	David de la Pera (Abocha Ranza).	
29.	David idem (Warjamoe).	
30.	Ab. Mementon (Byanerahr).	600
31.	Ab. H^{z} de Barios (Moria).	
32.	Ab. de Pinto (Cadix).	400
33.	Ab. Bueno : bibax.	
34.	Widow of Sam. de la Para (Anca doel).	
35.	Heirs of Sam. Co. Nassi (Inveija).	
36.	Ab. Nun. Henriq^{z}.	
37.	Jac. Gabai Crasto (Jeprens).	
38.	Neph. Messias (Porfio).	
39.	Is. Careleo (Lucha d'Jacob).	2250
40.	Widow of Sam. de la Para (Anca).	1050
43.	Jac. Gab. de Crasto.	
44.	Heirs of Moses Cotinhio (Retiro).	
45.	Heirs of Meza (Quamabo).	
46.	Sam. d'Avilar (la Diligenza).	1775
47.	Joode Savane.	
48.	Jac. H^{z} de Barios.	800
49.	Iz. Uz. de Avilas.	800
50.	Jac. H^{z} de Barios (Uncultivated).	
53.	Widow of Gab. Baeza (Mahanaem).	
54.	David d'Iz. Messias (Floreda).	
55.	Ab. Fonseca Meza (Abroea).	
57.	Mord. M. Quiro (Klyn Amst.)	110
58.	Mos. C. Baeza (Sucoht).	200
59.	Heirs of Mess. Penco (Wayapinnica).	550
60.	Widow of Ab. M. Maeza (Bersaba).	250
61.	Heirs of B^{n} H^{z} Granada (Pomibo).	
62.	Heirs of Jos. Arias (Guillgall ?).	500
63.	Bene H^{z} Granada (Nahamoe).	450
64.	Jos. Coh. Nassi (la Confianza).	430
67.	B. H^{z} Granada (Zaut Punt).	1558

	PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.	ACRES.
68.	Moses Naar (Sarga).	
69.	Is. de David d'Meza (Boavista).	
70.	Heirs of Granada (By Zaut Punt).	1000
71.	M^{s} de Britto (Vrapanica ?).	100
72.	Widow of Coc. Nassi (de Sonusco).	750
73.	Is. de Britto (de Goede Fortuyn).	1081
74.	Ab. Dovalle (?).	250
75.	Is. Henriq^{z} (Jusego).	140
76.	Ab. Pinto.	224
77.	Is. Carilho (Roode Bank).	1700
78.	Ab. & Is. Pinto (Stretta Nova).	1800
79.	Ard' Ab. da Costa (Aboa Pas).	1042
80.	Heirs of Baeza & da Costa (Cabo Verde).	
81.	Jos. Gabay Faro (Gooscen).	1452
82.	Iaq^{s} de Prado (la Recuperada).	288
83.	Pardo Gen^{t} Carthago (Rake Rak).	400
84.	Mos. Isidro (de Goe de Buurt).	
85.	Widow of Ab. de Pina (Beherseba).	
86.	Sam. Uz. d'Avilar (de 3 gelroeders).	1000
	1. Widow of Jac. Uz. d'Avilar (Restaurada).	1200
	2. Esth. Lorenco.	200
	3. Beni H^{z} Moron (Klyn Curacau).	
	4. Iac. de Pina (Haran).	130
	5. Iac. Coh. Nassi (Petak Enaim).	130
	6. Dav. Uz. d'Avilar (Parmllk ?).	130
	7. Heirs of Sol. Ies. Levi.	300
89.	Heirs of Ab^{m} Arias (Gelderland).	

The second map bears the title: Nieuwe Kaart van. . . . Suriname, Comowini, Cottica, en Marawini. . . met naauwkeurige aanwyzinge van alle de Steden, Sterktens en Plantagien. . . T Amsterdam by J. Ottens.[1] This map is

[1] According to Van de Aar, Ottens was an engraver who lived during the first half of the eighteenth century.

	PLANTATIONS ON THE SURINAM RIVER.	ACRES.
68.	Moses Naar (Sarga).	
69.	Is. de David d'Meza (Boavista).	
70.	Heirs of Granada (By Zaut Punt).	1000
71.	M^{s} de Britto (Vrapanica ?).	100
72.	Widow of Coc. Nassi (de Sonusco).	750
73.	Is. de Britto (de Goede Fortuyn).	1081
74.	Ab. Dovalle (?).	250
75.	Is. Henriq^{z} (Jusego).	140
76.	Ab. Pinto.	224
77.	Is. Carilho (Roode Bank).	1700
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86.	Sam. Uz. d'Avilar (de 3 gelroeders).	1000
	1. Widow of Jac. Uz. d'Avilar (Restaurada).	1200
	2. Esth. Lorenco.	200
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De Surnamse Bank
is Week Moddergront
SECTION
OF
Nieuwe Kaart
van
SURINAME
vertonende de stromen en land-streken
van
SURINAME,
COMOWINI, COTTICA,
en
MARAWINI,
gelegen in Zuid America op de kusten van
Caribana, 6 gr. benoorden de Linie Equinoct.
met nauwkeurige aanwyzinge van alle de
Steden, Sterktens en Plantagien mitsgaders de diepte der
Stromen en Banken volgens de nieuwste waarnemingen.
T AMSTERDAM by J. OTTENS.
DE LANDS STREEK
DE LANDS STREEK
SURINAME
COMOWINI
Brams Punt
Krabbe Bosch
Moerassig Land
Comowini
Cottica Stroom
Batterye en Wagthuis
Moet Creek
Muscq Creek
Cottica
Stroom
Fort Cottica of Sommelsdyk
T EILANT COTTICA
Cruse Cr.
Ade de Haan
Snelleman
Perseus Cr.
Jan Hard
Jaspers
Fort Zeelandia
Gouverneurs Woon
PARIMARIBO of
Nieu MIDDELBURG
B. Perdian
I. Boeteman
De Nieuwe Hoop
Luyers Holt
Sijn Excellentie
d'Albert
Heer de Societeit
Winik
Adelburg
Vlissingen
Middelburg
Vlissingen
Bellegluse
Brayning
Powels Creek
Gael
Monk
Westdorp
T EILANT SURINO
Surine
Penman
Joe Jongen
Surine Creek
Volkerson
Otto Idenis
Samuel Nassy
t Fort Para
T EILANT TUINHUISEN
Rec Rok
Lanken
Watson
Vreedenburg
Iasperse
Banister Creek
Elsingh
Onfry
Perdruin
Knuchts
de Stat Torurica
Bodus
St Bridges Creek
L. Garel
Capt Taren
Denton
Corapinus Creek
Jan Horton
Jan Dory
Munniks
Paramaribo of Blauwenberg
de Bruyte Couwel
Torra Creek
Marshal Creek
Brave
Armadille bergen of Hill
Macarson
Kingston Hill
Tigers Hill
Fortune
S. Jans Eil
Fortune Cr.
Sharon
Collom
Dennon
Rander
Ambrosius Cr.
Marton
Nores
Drago
Basselier
de Suster van de Heer Sommelsdyk
Josef Nassy
Vagthuis
Wilden
Suriname
Josef Nassy
Townonteka Cr.
J. H. Govern
Sya Creek
Samuel Nassy
Cassipoure Creek
Sarana
Wilden
Bodloo
Massy
Munniks
Lambert
Abram de Pina
Jaques da Costa
Curbet
Benjamin da Costa
Scots
Randor
Dacgt
Fichtenberg
Wilden
Josef Nassy
Arrowdicka Creek
Strom
Mesa
Parera
Abram de Silva
Nanfa
Elias Ely
Nassy
Isaque Pereira
Nunes
Rafael Moofe
De Cassores
Isaac en Jacob Nassy
Mosse de Pena
Boraig de Corta
Joods Dorp en Synagoge
Barrack
Burgerman
Mark de Britta
Spanjaars Creek
Fonseca
Drago
Dog Pedro
Aron
Serfatyn
Munnik
Nunes da Costa
Gryten
Schorgeen huisen
de Heer Bosselier
Parada
Montefinus
Schot
Peirson
Isaque Pereira
Hollan
Torarica
Draght
Capt Taren
Apprentice Cr.
Mercus
Nassy
Perdruin
Knuchts
Spanjaars Creek
Fonseca
Drago
Dog Pedro
Aron
Serfatyn
Munnik
Nunes da Costa
Gryten
Schorgeen huisen
de Heer Bosselier
Parada
Boraig de Corta
Joods Dorp en Synagoge
Nassy
Nanfa
Elias Ely
de Silva
Abram de Pina
Jaques da Costa
Curbet
Cassipoure Creek
Wilden
Sarana
Fichtenberg
Bodloo
Wilden
Josef Nassy
Townonteka Cr.
J. H. Govern
Sya Creek
Samuel Nassy
Cassipoure Creek
Drago
Basselier
de Suster van de Heer Sommelsdyk
Fortune
S. Jans Eil
Tigers Hill
Fortune Cr.
Sharon
Collom
Dennon
Rander
Kingston Hill
Marshal Creek
Brave
Macarson
Armadille bergen of Hill
Ambrosius Cr.
Marton
Nores
Torra Creek
de Bruyte Couwel
Jan Horton
Jan Dory
Munniks
Paramaribo of Blauwenberg
Vagthuis
Suriname
Corapinus Creek
Denton
Capt Taren
L. Garel
St Bridges Creek
Apprentice Cr.
Mercus
Nassy
Perdruin
Knuchts
de Stat Torurica
Bodus
Dog Pedro
Aron
Serfatyn
Hollan
Torarica
Draght
Montefinus
Schot
Peirson
Isaque Pereira
Nunes
Rafael Moofe
De Cassores
Isaac en Jacob Nassy
Mosse de Pena
Parera
Mesa
Arrowdicka Creek
Strom
Josef Nassy
Scots
Randor
Dacgt
Fichtenberg
Wilden
Sarana
Cassipoure Creek
Benjamin da Costa
Curbet
Lambert
Abram de Pina
Jaques da Costa
Munniks
Massy
Bodloo
Wilden
Vagthuis
Suriname
Josef Nassy
Townonteka Cr.
J. H. Govern
Sya Creek
Samuel Nassy
Cassipoure Creek
Nores
Drago
Basselier
de Suster van de Heer Sommelsdyk
Fortune
S. Jans Eil
Tigers Hill
Fortune Cr.
Sharon
Collom
Dennon
Rander
Kingston Hill
Marshal Creek
Brave
Macarson
Armadille bergen of Hill
Ambrosius Cr.
Marton
Torra Creek
de Bruyte Couwel
Jan Horton
Jan Dory
Munniks
Paramaribo of Blauwenberg

evidently a little later in date than the first, and gives us a number of new names. The "Ioods Dorp en Sinagoge" is represented by a number of buildings. With the exception of one place on the Para Creek, and another on the Cottica River, the plantations are still to be found along the Surinam River. The numbering is my own.

PLANTATIONS ON THE PARA CREEK.

(1). Samuel Nassy.

PLANTATIONS ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE SURINAM RIVER.

(2). S. Nassy.
(3). S. Nassy.
(4). Simson.
(5). M. Nassy.
(6). Montesinus.
(7). Isaque Pereira.
(8). Nunes.
(9). Rafael Aboafe.
(10). Iosoe en Jacob Nassy.
(11). Mose I. de Pona.
(12). Parera. (?)
(13). Mesa.
(14). Josef Nassy.
(15). Solis.

PLANTATIONS ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE SURINAM RIVER.

(16). De Fonseca.
(17). David. (?)
(18). De Pina.
(19). Aron.
(20). Serfatyn.
(21). Nunes da Costa.
(22). Parada. (?)
(23). Barug de Costa.
(24). Ioods Dorp en Sinagoge.
(25). Nassy.
(26). Elias Ely.
(27). de Silva.
(28). Abram de Pina.
(29). Jaques da Costa.

PLANTATION ON THE COTTICA RIVER.

(30). Saare Brit, (*i. e.* Sha'arē Berīt).

The following alphabetical list of the persons and families mentioned upon the two maps may serve as the beginning of a name-list for Surinam:

Aboafe, (= Aboab), Rafael, ii, 9. *Pub.* iv, 3.
Arias, Abraham, i, 89.
Arias, Joseph, i, 62.
Aron, ii, 19.
Avilar, Izak de, i, 49.
Avilar, Jacob Uziel d', i, 86, (1). *Pub.* iv, 3.
Avilar, Samuel de, i, 46.
Avilar, Samuel Uziel de, i, 86.
Avilas, (Avilar?) David Uziel d', i, 86, (6).
Baeza, i, 80.
Baeza, Gabbai, i, 53.
Baeza, Moses C., i, 58.
Barios, Abraham Henriquez de, i, 31.
Barios, Jacob Henriquez de, i, 48, 50. *Pub.* iv, 6.
Brito, (or Britto), Abraham de, i, 26. *Pub.* iv, 4.
Brito, Isak de, i, 73.
Brito, Moses de, i, 58.
Bueno, Abraham, i, 33.
Careleo, Is[aac], i, 39.
Carilho, (= Careleo ?), Is[aac], i, 77.
Costa, i, 80.
Costa, Abraham da, i, 79.
Costa, Barig (=Baruch) de, ii, 23.
Costa, Jaques da, ii, 29.
Costa, Nunes de, ii, 21.
Cotinhio, Moses, i, 44.
Crasto, Jacob Gabai, i, 37, 43.
David, (?), ii, 17.
Dovalle, (?), Abraham, i, 74.
Ely, Elias, ii, 26.
Faro, Joseph Gabay, i, 81.
Fonseca, de, ii, 16.
Fonseca, I. Gr. de, i, 23.
Granada, Henriquez, i, 61, 63, 67, 70.
Henriques, Abraham Nuñez, i, 36.
Henriques, Is[aac], i, 75.
Henriques, Moses Nuñez, i, 27.
Isidro, Moses, i, 84.
Levi, Solomon Ies., i, 86, (7).
Lorenço, Esther, i, 86 (2).
Mementon, Abraham, i, 30.
Messias, David de Izhac, i, 54.
Messias, Naphtali, i, 38.
Mesa (= Meza), ii, 13.
Meza, i, 45.
Meza, Abraham Fonseca, i, 55.
Meza, Abraham M., i. 60.
Meza, Isaac de David, i, 21, 69.
Meza, Salomon, i, 22.
Meza, Samuel, i, 20.
Montesinus, ii, 6.
Moron, H(enriquez?), i, 86, (3).
Naar, Moses, i, 68. *Pub.* iv, 4.
Nassi (Nassy), ii, 25.
Nassi, Abraham Cohen, i, 24.
Nassi, Coc (?), i, 72.
Nassi, David Cohen, i, 25. *Pub.* iv, 3.
Nassi, Isaac Cohen, i, 86, (5).
Nassi, Jacob, ii, 10.
Nassi, Joseph Cohen, i, 15, 64.
Nassi, Joseph, ii, 14.
Nassi, Samuel, 1, 35; ii, 1, 2, 3. *Proc.* iv, 3.
Nunes, ii, 8.
Para, Samuel de la, i, 34, 40, iii.
Parada (?), ii, 22.
Parera, (= Pereira?), ii, 12.
Penco, Messias, i, 59.
Pera, (= Para?) David de la, i, 28, 29.
Pereira, Isaque, ii, 7. *Pub.* ii, 76; iv, 3; vi, 18, 19.
Pina, de, ii, 18.
Pina, Abraham de, i, 85; ii, 28.
Pina, Jacob de, i, 86, (4).
Pinto, Abraham de, i, 32, 76, 78.
Pinto, Is[aac,] i, 78.
Pona, Mose, I. de, ii, 11.
Prado, Gent. Carthago, i, 83.
Prado Iaq[a] de, i, 82. *Pub.* iv, 3; vi, 19.
Quiro, Mordecai M., 1, 57.
Serfatyn, ii, 20.
Silva, de, ii, 27.
Simson, ii, 4.
Solis, ii, 15.

Plan
van de Stad
PARAMARIBO

It is possible that some duplicates will be found in the above list. This is due to the fact that the second map does not give the prenomen. The variations in spelling are not due to my own fault.

The plan of the city Paramaribo or New Middelburg, as it was for a time called, is taken from the "Landkaart van de Volkplantingen Suriname en Berbice." Its date may be a little later than that of the other two; but there is nothing to indicate the exact period it represents. Attention may be called to the "Jooden Bree-Straat," No. 6; the Portuguese Synagogue, No. 13; and the German Synagogue, No. 14.

The picture of the Jews' Savanna seems to me to belong to some account of Surinam, published during the early part of the nineteenth century. It bears the legend "Gesicht van de Jooden Savane, in de Colonie van Surinamen, van de Rivier zyden te zien." I do not know its provenance.[1]

Another picture of the Savanna is to be found in M. D. Teenstra, *De Landbouw in de Kolonie Suriname*, Groningen, 1835, vol. ii, p. 142. I append his account of the Savanna, a sad picture of what was once a flourishing community, (see also, Van Sijpesteijn, *Beschrijving van Suriname*, 's Gravenhage, 1854, p. 85).

APPENDIX.

[Translation of Teenstra, Agriculture in Surinam, II. pp. 133 *et seq.*]

§2. Description of the Jews' Savanna.

The savanna of the Jews is an insignificant village or hamlet, being the property and the late residence of Portu-

[1] In J. G. Stedman, *Narrative of a five years' Expedition against the revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 2d ed., 1806, vol. ii, p. 303, there is a small picture entitled "View of the Settlement called the Jews' Savannah."

guese Jews. * * * * Situate in the division of upper Surinam, ten hours or so, or two days navigating from Paramaribo, yet on the other side, (namely on the left shore, sailing upwards) on the river Surinam, where this romantic hamlet is built upon high mat-grass.

So that you may know to a certain degree how this village looks, herewith follows an abstract of my journal of voyages:

And now we are shown the picturesque hillock upon which stands a synagogue built of stone. In front of this quiet hamlet in the middle of the river, abounding in fish, lies a charming *tabbetje* or oblong uninhabited island * * * * completely overgrown with trees, shrubs, and bushes, among which are a number of thorny shrubs with small round leaves which here are named *Branti-Maká*, as well as flowering shrubs alternated by small groups of budding trees, while on the shore grows the spongy waterplant *Mókkê Mókkê* (alum) which, with its stout, great and broad leaves of a darkish-green, glittering color, resembling the three-cornered leaf of the *Taijers*, with its yellow, tulip-formed blossoms, with the colors of the leaves of the trees glimmering in the darkness, with the red of the houses and with the gray-and-greenish hue of the Savannas, form a most enchanting combination in the mirror-like smooth sheet of the river.

Before one reaches the green hillock, or so-called mountain, one sees at the foot of it various military buildings, which group can be easily distinguished from other houses, by the doors and windows, painted red, while the private houses are tarred. Here resides the commanding officer of the military post Gelderland which is behind the hamlet, and he has here his picket.

Not less attractively located is the village which is built upon the hill around the synagogue and shows itself to the eye, that seeks loving novelties; its grave stillness arouses serious and reverential feeling and reminds us involuntarily of by-gone times and manners.

* * * * * * * * * * *

This village should only be looked at from a distance. Everywhere you meet oppressing poverty upon the ruins of former prosperity, there are only a few senile decrepit Israelites in the dilapidated houses, surrounded by decayed ruins. Nevertheless have we seen the picturesque hill upon the aforesaid *tabbetje*, which stretches itself lengthwise of the brown, calm stream, provided you look upon it from above. The evening we spent, after we had inspected the entire hamlet and synagogue, in the most prominent house of this village, with M^r^ T. de la Parra in the company of a few good, old people, namely, La Parra, Nassy, T. H. de Mera and B. H. da Costa, all of them Jews of between 70 and 80 years of age who communicated to us with evident interest the original and early privileges which they enjoyed here, while they complained without exception about the loss of their own private jurisdiction. Also prophesied those hospitable men, who stood with one foot already in their graves, with good reason, that after death their residences like so many others would be deserted and uninhabited.

Their ancestors, according to their story, arrived here as fugitives in consequence of the persecution in Spain and Portugal, having received permission from our government in 1632 to settle upon this savanna and erect dwellings. However, it was not until August, 1691, that the owner of this land, namely, Samuel Nassy, gave them this establishment in full possession, and he added 25 acres from the nearby pasturage. The Governor Scherpenhuizen donated subsequently 100 acres to them. The deed of gift is still to be found in the Collection of Privileges, title 8, d. d. September 12, 1691.

The synagogue was erected in the year 1685, which last date stands upon the iron pillar near the westerly gable-wall,[1] and is situated on a high, spacious square west-south-west and east-north-east, being the level summit of a hill 10 to

[1] Compare the pamphlet written by Nassy, *Essai Historique.*

12 Netherlandish ells above the average level of the river. The synagogue itself, surrounded by a wooden railing, painted black, is erected entirely of bricks, and is a very strong building with two pointed gables, with stoops on both sides, without steeple or clockwork; it is ninty-three Rhinelandish feet long, forty-two feet broad, and thirty-three feet high. Inside is to be seen a wooden arch which is supported by pillars of genuine brown hard-wood. At the westerly end is a gallery a man's height above the other floor, containing the seats for the women; below this gallery one finds three apartments, in one of which sat the tribunal of the Jews. This privilege they obtained from Queen Anne of England, and at the same time it was stipulated, that they should be exempt from prosecutions during their high festivals, by their creditors. * * * * However, this court of justice, (of the first instance in civil cases to the amount of five hundred guilders), together with various other privileges, has expired and was abolished by royal decree, d. d. 7 April, 1825, on July 4, 1825.

In the apartment to the left, besides the fire-engine there are to-day a large chest of books and other archives. Here a number of children are instructed during divine service. To the east of the church stands the sacristy; a large chest contains, upon eighteen scrolls, the books of Moses, each of these scrolls comprehends the Pentateuch, written on vellum in Hebrew; the sticks, upon which these holy laws and teachings are rolled, have a splendid crown of silver and gold, while each of these eighteen scrolls is wrapped in a variously flowered silken covering. On the north side are seats of the officers, which are kept in very good order. The quantity of copper crowns and chandeliers is the best witness to the former prosperity of this community; these were gifts of prominent Jews, whose names are also engraved upon them; the same is the case with a silver wash-basin and cover, upon which are engraved two hands turned upwards; beyond these this synagogue has no especial valuables.

On October 12/13, 1785, the Jews celebrated the centennial jubilee of this synagogue; more than 1600 persons are said to have attended this expensive and magnificent festival, amongst whom were the Governor-General Wichers, the Police Counsellors, the Civil-Counsel, Staff Officers and various high officials. In the year 1827, important repairs were made on the building.

Having finished examining the synagogue, we turned to the south-east corner of the square to visit an old coffee-house; but this dilapidated hovel, entirely built on piles, was uninhabited and locked up. There were a great number of vermin, and the miserable shanty between the broken grating and pile-work will soon fall to pieces; everything was rotten, decayed, and mouldering; nothing could be seen, but dilapidation and decay.

Close by the billiard house we partook of a collation with the above-named Da Costa, and we promenaded eastwards to the so-called village, and ere long we reached the path leading to the cordon of the military post Gelderland, situate about eight to ten Netherland ells higher than the beforementioned church-square. This hamlet, which was honored by a visit from the Commissary-General Joh. Van den Bosch in July, 1828, was then and later forsaken, still I must say that it is a healthy place, dryly situated and provided with pure air. The soil mostly consists of loose sand, intermingled here and there by a brown, mud-like earth and rough cobble-stones. The hamlet had formerly four cross-roads, which are still discernible, and was 450 Rhenish feet long and 300 feet broad; there were upon this oblong square once about 80 to 90 houses, but in 1790 it must have been well nigh a deserted wilderness, as there were then living in 49 houses, only 22 miserable inhabitants,[1] and in October, 1822 there were already not more than 8 inhabitants,[2] and this is to-day their number.

[1] *Historische Proeve*, etc., II part, page 47.

[2] *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, Mengelwerk, for 1823, page 183.

It is stated in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, "that the Jews left this place of rest and security to go to Paramaribo for the sake of trading." When they gave up agriculture, they all became impoverished, although others too have gained little or nothing. Many prominent Portuguese Jews established themselves here only to be buried at this cemetery with their ancestors. The former prosperity of this hamlet had its origin in the trade necessary to the supply of the former strong garrison of the cordon * * * * which now is almost deserted, so that former captain's posts are now mounted by a corporal and a few guides; for which reason the trading Israelites many years ago removed from here and settled in Paramaribo.

The road from the synagogue to the military post of Gelderland leads through very deep snow-white sand, which is intermixed with white flintstone. It was just at midday, (Friday the 12th,) that we thus promenaded; and the leather almost fell off from our shoes while we walked onward with half closed eyes, on account of the strong light.

To the right and left of the hamlet of this savanna are two deep alleys, planted with trees, whilst to the right of this path, on the slope of the alley is situated the Jewish cemetery with a great number of marble tombstones, on which are Hebrew inscriptions.

* * * * * * * * * * *

After breakfast we concluded, instead of lying down, to visit the cemetery of the old Jews, which now is higher up on the same side of the river; we were able to reach the same by water in half an hour. If the savanna of the Jews up the river is somewhat desolate, it is evident, that the view near this village is not less romantic than when arriving. One has, sailing upwards, on the left shore, high cliffs, of a yellowish color, interwoven with red stripes; which cliffs ascend as steep as a wall; and all-over breaks appear, wherein small birds build their nests. Those

steep banks are over-grown with a great many small black trees, ivy, bosch-tay-tay, and other plants, whilst upon the first high cliff stood the old Jewish synagogue before the year 1685. Now one sees further on, at the winding of the river, a small creek or landing-place, and here were a few canoes or coijalen under the shadowing thicket. Arrived here we waded through the deep sand where there are a great many shrubs, and ere long we reached the old cemetery of the Jews, where you find an abundance of tombstones which have more the shape of a prism than of an oblong square; they are scattered in every direction, the most magnificent ones were those of De Meza, Cohen, Nassy, de la Parra, etc. In the middle of this solitary, lonely cemetery stood a stately, black tree, which overshadows with its broad crown the silent graves and adds to the solemnity of the place. It seems to mourn its lonesome and secluded station. From here we now went straight upwards through the sand and reached a camp (condrie) of Carribee Indians, which camp consists of about 50 to 60 souls. However, the real number is only to be guessed at, as the captain of the camp Papegaai does not know his own subjects, much less the population of this camp.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Thus reads what I have written about the "Savanna of the Jews" in my yet unpublished diary of travels to the Netherland West Indian dominions, and I trust I have succeeded in my task to give you a clear picture of this village. But I have to add that, on the 10th of September, 1832, the hamlet was almost entirely destroyed by a fire, started by some malicious persons, and the most prominent houses and buildings became a prey of the flames. The fire originated in an uninhabited house of the sexton, M^{r} de la Parra, which stood right opposite the synagogue, and soon reached the adjacent large house of the Ex-Captain of militia of the Division of Upper Surinam, M^{r} Jacob de

Meza, which together with the house of the late Josua de la Parra, (died in December, 1832) and two other houses, were totally destroyed, whereby the hamlet went out of existence, since the few remaining inhabitants, as I have stated above, are too poor to think of rebuilding.

NOTES.

DR. DAVID NASSY IN SURINAM.

I wish to call attention to a little incident in connection with the Jews of Surinam, which occurred towards the end of the 18th century. In the year 1797 Surinam was an English colony, and the Portuguese were at war with France. A Portuguese ship had been seized by a French war vessel, had been brought to Surinam and sold, together with all its contents. The ship's people were thrown into the greatest poverty—without friends, credit, or the means of a livelihood. The only ones who could hold converse with them were the Jews, who, being of Portuguese descent, had retained a knowledge of their language. Looking upon these sailors as their own countrymen, they undertook to house and feed them. Nay, more than this, they chartered a sailing vessel and sent the unfortunates back to their homes, refusing to accept any repayment for the money so expended. Chief among these benefactors in Surinam had been David Nassy, a man who in every way deserved well of his Jewish and non-Jewish brethren.[1]

The sailors upon their return informed their government of what had happened, and a letter, a translation of which follows, was sent to "Doctor David Nassy and the heads of the Portuguese Jewish Nation, residing in Surinam":

"The Portuguese, who were made prisoners of war by the French and then brought to Surinam, have, since they arrived at Lisbon, brought to the notice of the Prince through the Secretary of State, an account of the kindness which you gentlemen have shown them in helping them when they were

[1] See *Publications*, No. 4, pp. 3 ff., 5, p. 119.

in such great distress, and in sending them at your own expense to Lisbon. I am commanded by his Royal Highness to thank you in his name for this noble deed. His Royal Highness has noted with much pleasure that the Portuguese Jewish nation still remember their former fatherland. It would be pleasing to the Prince if all of them or some should come back to settle again in Portugal, where they would enjoy the greatest security and repose, since under the rule of the august and enlightened Prince who rules over us, none of the causes now exist, which formerly necessitated their banishment.

"In writing this I have fulfilled the order given me by his Royal Highness. Personally I place my services at your disposal in any way in which I can be of service to you. May God have you in His charge.

Given at the Palace of Quelus, Nov. 11, 1797.

D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho."

I have come across this letter in the *Bijdragen betrekkelijk de Verbetering van den Maatschappelijken Staat der Joden*, pp. 229, 235, August, 1806–June, 1807, Haag, Belinfante. A copy of this volume, being a duplicate of that in the Rosenthal Library in Amsterdam, was kindly presented to me by Baron George von Rosenthal.

Richard Gottheil.

Privileges granted by the British Government to the Jews of Surinam, 1665.

"Whereas it is good and sound policy to encourage as much as possible whatever may tend to the increase of a new colony, and to invite persons of whatsoever country and religion, to come and reside here and traffic with us; and whereas we have found that the Hebrew nation now already resident here, have, with their persons and property proved themselves useful and beneficial to this colony, and being

desirous to encourage them to continue their residence, and trade here; we have with the authority of the governor, his council and assembly, passed the following act:

"Every person belonging to the Hebrew nation now resident here, or who may come hereafter to reside and trade here, or in any place or district within the limit of this colony, shall possess and enjoy every liberty and privilege possessed by and granted to the citizens and inhabitants of the colony, and shall be considered as English-born, and they and their heirs shall in this manner possess their property, whether real or personal.

"It is also hereby declared that they shall not be compelled to serve any public office in this colony, and that we receive them under the protection and safeguard of our government with all the property they now hold or shall hereafter possess, and import from any foreign place or kingdom abroad. We also grant them every liberty and privilege which we enjoy ourselves, whether derived from laws, acts, or customs, either regarding our lands, our persons, or other property, promising them that nothing of what they now possess, or shall hereafter acquire, shall be taken from them or be appropriated among ourselves by any person of whatever rank; but that on the contrary they shall have full liberty to plant, trade, and do whatsoever they may consider conducive to their advantage and profit, on condition that they shall be true subjects of our Sovereign Lord, the King of England, and shall obey all orders already issued by him, or which he may hereafter promulgate. It is, however, to be well understood, that none of these orders shall be contrary to what is herein contained.

"It is also hereby granted and permitted, in the most ample manner possible, to the Hebrew nation, to practice and perform all ceremonies and customs of their religion, according to their usages; also those relating to their marriages and last wills or testaments, and that the acts of marriage, made according to their rites and customs, shall be held valid in

every respect. It is also hereby declared that they shall not suffer any let or hindrance in the observance of their Sabbath or festivals, and those who shall trouble them on that account shall be considered disturbers of the public peace, and shall be punished accordingly. Also that they shall not be bound to appear on the said days before any court or magistrate, and that all summonses and citations for the said days shall be null and void. Neither shall their refusal of payment of any claim made against them on these days prejudice them in any way, or diminish any claim they may have.

"The possession of ten acres of land at Thoxarica is also hereby granted to them that they may build thereon places of worship and schools, and for the burial of their dead.

"They shall, moreover, not be compelled to do personal duty, but shall be permitted to send a substitute, except in case of war, when they also shall be bound to come forward with the other inhabitants. Permission is also hereby granted them to have a tribunal of their own; and that in cases so litigated, the deputies of their nation may pronounce sentence in all cases not exceeding ten thousand pounds of sugar.

"Upon which sentence pronounced by the said deputies, the judge of our court shall grant execution to issue, and they shall keep registers and records of the same according to custom. When an oath shall be required, it shall be administered according to the custom of the Hebrew nation, and such oath shall be deemed valid, and have all the force and effect of a judicial oath, notwithstanding any law to the contrary.

"That all this may be fully known, I have by order of his excellency the governor, his council and assembly, signed the present on the seventh of August, 1665.

Signed, JOHN PARRY, *Secretary.*"

From Lindo's *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal.*

H. P. MENDES.

ENTERPRISE OF THE EARLY JEWISH SETTLERS AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

A correspondent of the *Providence Journal*, from Newport, furnishes the following evidence that the Hebrews of Newport contributed materially to the prosperity of that town before the Revolution. I should be pleased to get hold of the bundle of papers of Aaron Lopez referred to; but as I have no access to them I copy the extract which, confessedly having no religious value, will still, I am sure, be pleasing to our readers as a relic of olden times, and the more interesting as Mr. Lopez was a fugitive from the Peninsula, whence he escaped from the Inquisition:

"Whilst on this subject of the past history of Newport, let me here introduce one or two interesting matters connected with the early commerce of this place lately brought to my notice. They are gathered from bundles of papers belonging to the late Aaron Lopez, who was one of the most prominent merchants of his day, and they relate to the voyages of the sloop *Kingfisher*, owned and sailed by Capt. John Strange, of Freetown, Mass., and chartered by Aaron Lopez, for the sum of £19 6s., lawful money, per month; with an additional clause to the agreement, that Lopez should pay to said Strange the sum of £2000 should the sloop be seized on the high seas. She was manned by the captain who received £3 per month; his son, as a mate, at £2 8s.; four seamen at £2 2s., and a boy at £1 4s.; and her measurement was sixty-six tons—a small craft for the trade in which she was employed, according to our present views. August 12, 1775, she sailed for Jamaica with a mixed cargo; and again, November 13, she sailed for 'Cape Nichola Mole on Hispaniola,' with a similar cargo to be exchanged for molasses."

The above is copied from a newspaper clipping, without date, which belonged to the late Gershom Nathan, of New York.

"TO BE SOLD

"A very good plantation situated in Grigg's Town, Somerset County, New Jersey, joining to Mr. Noble's mills on Millstone River, containing about 120 acres of good land, with a good Dwelling House, Store-House, Barn, two Barracks, an Orchard and an excellent well; 30 Acres of good meadow, and very good conveniences. Whoever has a mind to purchase same, may inform themselves of David Hays, living on the premises, or of Isaac Seixas, in Stone Street, New York.

"N. B.—The title is indisputable."

Cited in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, Vol. XII, from *The New York Weekly Post Boy*, Jan. 2, 1744. ELVIRA N. SOLIS.

JUDAICA-AMERICANA.

From the catalogue of the De Castro collection of books and antiquities, sold at Amsterdam in April and May, 1899, I extract the following Judaica-Americana:

Sermao composto e pregado plo H. H. R. Semuel Mendes de Sola em Amsterdam. Ms. de 34 pp. (Catalogue, p. 55, No. 516.)

For other sermons of this author, who was Rabbi in Curaçao in the 18th century, see my "Early Jewish Literature in America" in *Publications*, No. 3, pp. 117 ff., 142.

Naar, Josua b. Jacob. Traité en Espagnol dans lequel il y a prédit que la venue du Messie aura lieu en 1806 et la réconstruction de Jérusalem en 1808. Ms. de 23 pp. écrit à Curaçao de 5552–5554 (1792–1794). Inédit. Très rare. (Catalogue, p. 57, No. 529.)

Solla, Semuel Mendes de. Orden de la Agada que se puede dezir en la noche de Purim. Ms. de 12 ff. 1 vol. cart. in 4. Inédit. (Catalogue, p. 58, n. 540). See references *supra*.

Bénedictus, Coenraad. Examen voor die nieuw aante ne-

men Moël of Besnijder der Israel. Kinderen . . . Hierbij gedeeltelijk het mannelijk lid ontleed, ook leerzame beschrijving der Besnijdenis en Circumcisione operatie, alsmede behandelingen . . . in vragen en antevoorden. (Paramaribo, 1830?); 1 vol. br. in–8. Très rare. (Catalogue, p. 93, No. 800.) See my notes in *Publications,* No. 3, p. 131; No. 4, p. 7.

Invwijding der Nieuwe Synagoge Newé-Sjalom te Suriname Paramaribo (1837)? 1 vol. br. in 8°. Rarissime. (Catalogue, p. 106, No. 979.)

Sermao moral pregado no K. K. de T. T. por o H. H. R. Jahacob Lopes da Fonseca, Rab Eleito do K. K. de Mikve Israel na ilha de Curaçao. 10 Yiar, 5523 (1763). Amst., 5523 por D. de R. Meldola. (Catalogue, p. 107, No. 993.)

Laguna, D[l] Israel Lopez. Espejo fiel de Vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso. Avec 3 gravures de Abr. Lopes de Oliveira. Londres, 5480 (1702). 1 vol. veau in–4. Très rare. See Kohut, in *Publications,* 3, pp. 110-2, 139; 4, pp. 121-2, 162.

Mendes de Solla, Semuel. Sermam funebre, & moral, que ás Exequias do muy Docto H. H. R. Aharon Acohen de Lara, Hazan do K. K. de T. T. prégon o H. H. R. Sem. M. de Solla . . . em Sabat. Emor. 20 de Ijar, Ao. 5504. Amst., 5504 (1744). 1 vol. cart. in–4. See first item.

Plechtigheeden, Vreugdegezangen en gebeeden in de Hoogd.Joodsche Synagoge, "Neve Salom" te Suriname op den dag der inhuldiging van Sir Charles Green. . . . Gouverneur General . . . Paramaribo, 1804, 1 vol. cart. in–4. Très rare. See Kohut, in *Publications,* 3, p. 130; 4, p. 6.

Among the "portraits de célèbres Grand-Rabbins, Médecines, Philosophes, etc.," there is one, on p. 226, mentioned of "A. J. Chumaceiro, Grand Rabbin de Curaçao. Lithogr."

Among the publications bearing upon the history of the congregation in Curaçao (see my essay in *Publications,* No.

3, pp. 117, 118, 142), are the following, to which no attention has as yet been directed :

אמת ויציב (Emet^{h} V^{e}jatsiv), Polemik gegen Sch'muel Mendes Sola (*vide, supra*), Mard. Chajj. Senior, Sch'lomo Nuñez Redondo u.[nd] A.[nderen] üb[er] Angelegenheiten der jüd[ischen] Gemeinde auf Curaçao im J[ahre] 1745, 8°. Unedirt. Papier, 24 Bll., span.-rabbin. Schrift, hoch 22, breit 14 Centimeter. Der Verf[asser] nennt sich יד״א.—In mancher Hinsicht sehr interessant. See M. Roests' בית הספר (*Bet^{h} ha sefer*), Amsterdam, 1868, p. 346, No. 5138.

Apparently there was a lack of harmony among the officials of the Hebrew congregation in Curaçao, in the middle of the 18th century, if we may judge from the polemics of this anonymous scribe and de Solla's apologetic sermon, published in Amsterdam in 1750. It were well to make accessible in a bibliographical list such Hebrew sources as refer to the early religious status of the Jews in America. Since we are on this point attention should be called to Jacob Kimchi's שושנת יעקב containing Rabbinic Responsa (Altona, 1760), and incidentally of interest because of the references therein to Jamaica, Barbados and Curaçao, and the Hebrew congregations flourishing there about that time. See Rev. Dr. H. Adler's article: The Chief Rabbis of England, in *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition,* . . . London, 1888, p. 281; on Kimchi, see Wolf-Jacob's *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica,* London, 1888, p. 135, No. 1045. Who has a copy of this rare pamphlet of Responsa?

In the New York Public Library (Lenox) there is a pamphlet containing an account of the commercial relations and legal disputes between some London and New York Jews, connected with the India Company, who had extensive dealings with the British West Indies. The title is as follows:

THE | DECREE | in the Case of | Solomon de Medina, Mosesson and Company, | Merchants in London, | and Rod-

erigo Pacheco, Jacob de Lara and Manuel de Costa, | Bearers of their Orders, | Complainants | against | Rene Het and the Executors of Andrew Fremean, | Deceased, | Defendants, | in Cancellaria Nova Eborac. | Printed and Sold by William Bradford in New York, 1728. | pp.(44, 6.)

G. A. KOHUT.

JACOB FRANKS.

The following information respecting Jacob Franks has been obtained from the *Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society.* He came to Green Bay as early as 1792,[1] being then a clerk in the trading establishment of Ogilvie, Gillespie, and Co.[2] He was accompanied by his sister's son, John Lawe, a native of York, England. He settled on the Devil River about four miles from the Fox River, and in 1794 was granted a large tract of land by the Indians.

In 1797 he severed his connection with the above-named firm, went to Canada, procured a supply of goods, and with his nephew opened a store.[3] About 1805 he erected the first saw and grist mills ever erected in that country, for which purpose he constructed a dam at Rapide des Peres. A piece of this dam on the east bank was still in place as late as 1822.[4] He carried on an extensive trade with the Indians, and won a high reputation for integrity, fair dealing, and hospitality.[5] On July 23, 1805 he deeded four hundred acres of his holdings to John Lawe and shortly thereafter returned to Canada.[6]

The deed from the Indians is as follows:[7]

[1] Vol. VII, p. 227, note.
[2] Vol. III, pp. 250-251.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 253-4; VII, p. 227.
[5] Vol. IX, pp. 145-7, 178.
[6] Vol. VII, p. 227, note.
[7] Vol. XV, pp. 3-4.

Know all Men by these presents that We the Undersigned Chiefs of the Falavoine[1] Nation of Indians, acting for the Nation in general have Given, Granted and Confirmed, and by these presents do Give, Grant and Confirm unto Jacob Franks, his Heirs, Executors or Assigns and every of them, all our Title, Claim or demand on a Tinement or piece of land with all its Singular appurtances Containing Three Acres in front on One Hundred Acres in depth, situate at La Baye in Upper Canada bounded in front by the Riviere des Renards, on the North Side by a land Granted to Dominique Ducharme and on all other sides by Land unconceded, for the Term of Nine hundred and Ninety Nine years, free and clear of all former or Gifts or Grants, Rents, Rent Charges, Titles, Troubles or incumbrances whatsoever, for value received.

In Witness Whereof we have hereunto in the presince of the Undersigned Witnesses, set our hand & Seals at La Baye this Eighth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred & Ninety four. Also a piece of land situate on l'other side of the Riviere Containing Nine Acres in front on one Hundred in depth, clear of all incumbrances as the above mintioned tiniment on l'other side of the River.

L. FILY

Witness Claude + Caron
Thomas + Caron

Witnesses
GEORGE GILLESPIE
JEAN ECUYER

witness CHIATCHE (a turtle) ANGUEMAN

ALEX^{R} KENNEDY
G^{T} LAGOTERIE

witness
ATAWOINABIE (an eagle)"

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

[1] Menomonees.

MISCELLANEOUS.

It is interesting to observe, in connection with the valuable paper by Rev. Dr. D. Philipson in No. 8 of our *Publications* on "The Jewish Pioneers of the Ohio Valley", that the westward movement of Jewish migration in the United States was a gradual one, and that Jews had settled at more centrally located places before they arrived in Ohio. That the Jews had probably reached Pittsburg some years before the first Jewish pioneer of the Ohio Valley, whom Dr. Philipson deals with, Joseph Jonas, settled in Cincinnati in 1817, is apparent from the following passage from John Bernard's *Retrospections of America*, regarding a visit paid by the distinguished actor to Pittsburg in 1800: "I found the town which was called the Western Exchange, a reflex of New York, the same earnest bustle in its business, and the same national variety in the thickly thronging strangers. Here were natives of every state, besides English, Irish and Scotch, French, German, Dutch, Jews and Indians." (p. 182).

In the preparation of the late Jacob Ezekiel's article on "Persecution of the Jews in 1840" in No. 8 of our *Publications*, what is undoubtedly the strongest letter of protest issued by the Executive Department of our Government in this whole series, was unfortunately overlooked. The peculiar significance of this letter is its official recognition with respect to Jewish rights, of the non-Christian character of our country, making it particularly suitable for our Government to intervene on behalf of the victims of religious persecution in other countries. This letter reads as follows:

(Letter from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to David Porter, U. S. Minister to Turkey).

"Department of State,
Washington, August 17, 1840.

David Porter, Esq.,

Sir:—In common with the people of the United States, the President has learned with profound feelings of surprise

and pain, the atrocious cruelties which have been practiced upon the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, in consequence of charges extravagant and strikingly similar to those, which, in less enlightened ages, were made pretexts for the persecution and spoliation of these unfortunate people. As the scenes of these barbarities are in the Mahomedan dominions, and, as such inhuman practices are not of an infrequent occurrence in the East, the President has directed me to instruct you to do everything in your power with the government of his Imperial Highness, the Sultan, to whom you are accredited, consistent with discretion and your diplomatic character, to prevent or mitigate these horrors,— the bare recital of which has caused a shudder throughout the civilized world; and in an especial manner, to direct your philanthropic efforts against the employment of torture in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt. The President is of the opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect, as from the representative of a friendly power, whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshippers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jew, and the Christian. Should you, in carrying out these instructions, find it necessary or proper to address yourself to any of the Turkish authorities, you will refer to *this distinctive characteristic* of our government, as investing with a peculiar propriety and right, the interposition of your good offices in behalf of an oppressed and persecuted race, among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. In communicating to you the wishes of the President, I do not think it advisable to give you more explicit and minute instructions, but earnestly commend to your zeal and discretion a subject which appeals so strongly to the universal sentiments of justice and humanity.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH."

MAX J. KOHLER.

I have obtained the subjoined list of names from the *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825, by Harvey Hall, printed by Samuel J. Brown.

Alexander, Joseph. Merchant. 5th, E. of Broadway; Md.

Byers, Israel. Tailor. 2nd, bet. Main and Walnut; Eng.

De Young, Samuel J. Sycamore, bet. 3d and 4th; Eng.

Jonas, Abraham. Auctioneer. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harrison; store, 104 Main St.; Eng.

Jonas, Joseph. Watchmaker. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harrison; store, 117 Main St.; Eng.

Joseph, Samuel. Distiller of Cordials. Main, bet. 4th and 5th; distillery, 138 Main St.; Eng.

Lape, Jacob. Grocer and Tobacconist, Cor. Vine and Front Sts.; Pa.

Levy, Jonas. Watchmaker and Silversmith. Lower Market; Eng.

Menken, Solomon. 38 Main St.; Ger.

Johnson, David I. Merchant. Elm, bet. 3d and 4th; Eng.

Moses, Simeon. Merchant. Broadway, bet. 5th and Harrison; Eng.

Moses, Solomon. Merchant. Sycamore, bet. 3d and 4th; store, 179 Main St.; Eng.

Moses & Jones. Auctioneers. 101 Main St.; Eng.

Moses, S. & P. Merchants. 179 Main St.; Eng.

Masonic: Miami Lodge No. 46. Founded 1818. Joseph Jonas, Past Master.

"Places of Worship": "The Jews occupy a part of a private dwelling." Note, p. 129.

H. C. Ezekiel.

NECROLOGY.

CHARLES P. DALY.

In the death of Charles P. Daly, which took place at North Haven, New York, on September 19, 1899, this Society lost one of its most distinguished Honorary Members, and the cause of American Jewish history, one of its earliest, most active and most efficient workers.

Born in New York City in 1816, of poor parents of the Roman Catholic faith, who had but shortly before migrated to this country, his education was cut short in early youth by his father's death. Young Daly then proceeded to earn his own livelihood; first by a few years of clerkship in Savannah, Georgia, next for a few years as a sailor before the mast, and then again, still before he reached his majority, back in his native town as an apprentice. In his leisure he found opportunity partially to satisfy his intellectual tastes, by actively participating in the work of a local literary society, where he attracted the attention of some legal and political magnates of the day. They induced him to begin the study of the law, and to actively interest himself in political life. At the age of twenty-three he was admitted to practice in New York after three and a half years of study, and soon after, in 1844, left the State Legislature, after a year's service, for the bench. As a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for nearly forty-two years, during twenty-seven of which he was Chief Justice of his Court, Judge Daly acquired most enviable fame for profound learning, unquestioned integrity, and conscientiousness and zeal. It was largely through his efforts that President Lincoln finally determined not to treat captured Confederate naval officers and seamen as pirates, even after conviction. At the beginning of his career in the legislature, he was instru-

mental in securing for our State its most valuable historical collection, and thereafter, in numerous published articles and works, and in unpublished addresses, he made most valuable contributions to New York history. The history of the law and legal system of New York, dating from the time of the Dutch possession, attracted his special attention, and were mastered by no other writer as they were by him. He also edited the series of sixteen volumes of New York law reports, known as "Daly's Reports."

An active member of the New York Historical Society, a student of general history, he published valuable historical works, one of which was *The Settlement of the Jews in North America.* He was profoundly interested in geographical science and exploration, and was the leading spirit as well as President, of the American Geographical Society for thirty-five years. Judge Daly was also deeply interested in the history of the drama, and made valuable contributions to the literature of the subject.

When in December, 1885, he retired from the bench, because he had reached the age limit, he began anew the active practice of law, and devoted himself to his varied literary and scientific interests.

He was often called upon to speak at notable Jewish gatherings and he was ever ready to express his admiration for the Jewish race, his interest in its history, particularly in America, and his indignation at narrow and degrading anti-Semitic prejudice. From his early childhood, he numbered Jews among his intimate friends, and his knowledge of Jewish affairs arose from his interest in and personal efforts at acquiring familiarity with the subject. His most conspicuous and valuable contribution in this field is, of course, his *History of the Settlement of the Jews in North America.* This came to be written as a result of the acceptance in 1872 of an invitation to deliver the oration at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum Society in New York.

Instead of delivering trite commonplaces, Judge Daly proceeded on this occasion to show that the Jews for more than two hundred years had been an integral element of the population of New York, had made valuable contributions to the city's commercial and social growth, and had maintained an enviable reputation for benevolence and good citizenship. All this was pioneer work as applied to American Jewish history, and it is not surprising that Judge Daly's work should at once have attracted wide attention. It has continued ever since to be the basis of American Jewish history. This address was expanded into a long series of articles, which appeared in the *Jewish Times*, and a supplementary article was added in 1875.

In 1883, Judge Daly again utilized some of this same material when he spoke at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Hebrew Orphan Asylum building. This address was printed in pamphlet form at that time.

In 1892, the organization of the American Jewish Historical Society made it apparent that Judge Daly's standard book ought to be rendered accessible to the students of Jewish and American history, and Judge Daly displayed his usual courtesy and kindness in facilitating the publication of his work, and consented to write the valuable supplementary chapter. A revised edition of the work appeared in *The American Hebrew*, and in 1893 it was published in book-form.

He was proud of being an Honorary Member of this Society, and in spite of the infirmities of age he attended the meetings of the Society, held in New York City, in 1893 and 1897, and presided for a time over the sessions on each of these occasions.

His wide and profound scholarship, and genial, kindly manner can never be forgotten by any one who was privileged to enter into friendly conversation with him.

In May, 1874, the New York Jewish community felt impelled to express its appreciation of his valuable services

by giving a complimentary dinner in his honor, prior to his departure for Europe. Judge Daly's speech on that occasion merits preservation. He said, to quote the report of *The Jewish Times*, of May 8, 1874, that "the history of his own race has taught him to practice charity in the widest sense, and if this country had been the first to extend the full privileges of freedom to the Jews, they, in their turn, have richly returned the precious gift by their efforts, their labors, their examples of frugality, thrift and industry, which have helped to lift this country to the proud position which it occupies to-day. He related, that as a very young man he came to Savannah. He found there the few Jews who had been among the earliest settlers, occupying the highest position in society. Their honor was held so high that it required but the utterance of the tongue, and the ear to hear the expression to be assured of the fulfilment of any promise or obligation. He had then the opportunity of learning to appreciate the qualities of a true Hebrew as a man and as a citizen, and during a long career of great and varied experience, he had never occasion to change the high opinion which he formed in his younger years."

Fortunately for us, his work will remain as an enduring monument to his scholarly interest in the history of the Jews of North America, and his name will always be remembered by Jews as the pioneer worker in that field.

JACOB EZEKIEL.

Jacob Ezekiel was born on the twentieth day of June, 1812, in the city of Philadelphia. He was the first-born son and second child of Ezekiel Jacob Ezekiel, and his wife, Rebecca, who migrated from Amsterdam, Holland, to America in 1810. His grandfather, Eleazer Israel, was a Hebrew scribe. A *sepher torah* written by him is in the possession of the *Mickvé Israel* congregation of Philadelphia. The death of his mother, in the year 1818, broke up the household,

and the boy Jacob was adopted by his uncle Michael E. Cohen. When he was thirteen years of age he was apprenticed to Robert Desilver, who conducted a book-binding establishment on Walnut Street. His apprenticeship lasted seven years. In 1833 he left Philadelphia for Baltimore where he formed a partnership with a Mr. Johnson to carry on the book-binding business. During his brief residence in Baltimore he began to take that active interest in Jewish affairs that continued to the end of his long and useful life. His first public service in the cause of Judaism was the incorporation at Annapolis of the newly-organized Hebrew Benevolent Society of Baltimore, the *'Hebra Bikur Cholim u G'milat 'Hasadim.*

In the following year, 1834, he went to Richmond, Va., and associated himself with his brother-in-law Jacob A. Levy, in the dry goods business. Two years later he formed a partnership with another brother-in-law, Isaac Hyneman, in the same business. This partnership continued until 1840, from which date Mr. Ezekiel carried on the business alone, till 1868. Shortly after his arrival in Richmond he was elected Secretary of the congregation *Beth Shalom;* he filled this office for about thirty years. In 1835 he married Catherine Myers de Castro. Fourteen children blessed the union, one of whom is the celebrated sculptor Sir Moses Ezekiel, of Rome, Italy. During his residence in Richmond, Mr. Ezekiel was prominently identified with all matters of Jewish interest.

In the year 1841, when, upon the death of President William Henry Harrison, President John Tyler, issued a proclamation announcing the death, and called upon the people to observe a day of mourning, Mr. Ezekiel addressed a communication to the President objecting to the phraseology of the document which designated this nation "a Christian people." The protest elicited the following cordial response:

"WASHINGTON, April 19, 1841.

"SIR: I beg you to be perfectly assured, that in using the language in my recommendation to the people of the United States to observe the 14th of May as a day for religious exercises, in consequence of the bereavement which the country has sustained in the death of the late President, I designed in nothing to exclude any portion of my fellow citizens from a cordial union in the solemnities of that occasion. In speaking in the first paragraph of the duties of Christian people, I meant in no way to imply that similar duties should not be performed by all mankind. The last paragraph is an invitation to all and excludes the idea of any especial invocation. For the people of whom you are one, I can feel none other than profound respect.

"The wisdom which flowed from the lips of your prophets has in time past, and will continue for all time to come, to be a refreshing fountain of moral instruction to mankind—while Holy records bear witness of Divine favors and protection of the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, God of the Christian and Israelite, to his chosen people—may I then hope, sir, that this explanation will remove all difficulties, and that your voice and the voices of all your brethren will ascend to our Common Father in supplication and prayer on the day I have suggested.

"I tender you assurances of great respect,

JOHN TYLER."

"Mr. Jacob Ezekiel."

In 1845 the city council of Richmond passed an ordinance for the more effectual suppression of Sabbath breaking, a heavy fine being made the penalty for the infraction of the Sunday laws. Mr. Ezekiel wrote a number of articles in the Richmond papers setting forth the injustice of this legislation, especially as far as the Jews who observed their Sabbath were concerned, and he succeeded in having the obnoxious legislation repealed. Further, when the revised

code was adopted in 1849 he had the state law so amended as to absolve those citizens who observed the Jewish Sabbath from any penalty for violating the Christian Sabbath.

In 1851, and for several years thereafter, there was much excitement among the Jews of this country caused by a clause in the treaty then pending between the United States and the Swiss Confederation; this clause if consented to by the Senate would have prevented American Jews from settling in or even visiting certain cantons of Switzerland. Mr. Ezekiel addressed a letter to James A. Sedden, of Richmond, a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, and later the Secretary of War of the Confederacy, calling his attention to this clause and requesting him to use his influence against having the treaty ratified by the Senate. He also protested in a letter, written in 1852, to John S. Caskie, another member of the House of Representatives from Richmond, against the acceptance by our Government of a block of granite sent by the Swiss authorities to be placed in the National Washington monument then in the course of erection.

In 1869 Mr. Ezekiel removed from Richmond to Cincinnati. He took an active interest in the organization of the Union of American Congregations in 1873, and in the foundation of the Hebrew Union College. In 1876 he was elected a member of the Board of Governors of this institution and served as secretary from that time till 1896 when, owing to his advanced age, he resigned the office. Until the day of his death, which occurred on the sixteenth of May, 1899, Jacob Ezekiel retained his interest in all affairs appertaining to the weal of Judaism and of Jewry.

D. P.

JACOB BAIZ.

Jacob Baiz was born in Barcelona, Venezuela, on January 17, 1843; his parents were Abraham Baiz and Sarah Naar, and when eight years of age he came with them to this

country and resided at Elizabethport, New Jersey, where he received an education at the public schools.

As a lad of twenty he visited Venezuela, taking out merchandise and military equipment to sell to the Government. A few years after his return he established himself as a commission merchant, being chiefly engaged in exporting articles of American manufacture to the Central and South American countries, and in selling the products of those countries.

He became widely known in Central America and enjoyed the confidence and personal friendship of the late Jose Rufino Barrios, President of the Republic of Guatemala, and was appointed by him Consul-General of that country to the United States, a position which he held for fifteen years. He was also Consul-General of the Government of Honduras for several years, receiving his appointment from President Marco Aurelio Soto, and held a similar office for the Republic of Salvador, receiving his appointment from President Zaldivar.

He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Produce Exchange, and of the Coffee Exchange, in the City of New York, and a member of Essex Lodge, of Elizabeth, and Royal Arch Masons of New York.

He was prominently identified with Jewish affairs and was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, Vice-President of the Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Society, and a member of many educational and charitable organizations.

A few years ago he projected and constructed a railroad in Venezuela and was President of the Company, which was incorporated in this country.

While acting as Consul-General of Honduras in 1886, he prevented a filibustering expedition by the steamer, City of Mexico, and the proceedings instituted by him in our Admiralty Court resulted in the condemnation of the vessel (*City of Mexico*, 28 Fed. Rep. 148; 32 *ibid.* 105). In recognition of his services in the matter he was made a Brigadier-General by that Republic.

In asserting the right of the Republic of Guatemala to expel any offensive foreigner, he was sued by a citizen of this country, who claimed that the decree of expulsion against him was libellous. The action of its Consul-General was vigorously supported by the Government and the defense of the suit brought in the District Court of the United States prevailed. At that time General Baiz claimed he had been designated as chargé d' affaires, and contended that suit against him in that capacity must be brought in the the Supreme Court of the United States. The legal questions involved were novel and interesting, but it was held that as the Consul-General had not been clothed with formal diplomatic functions he could not invoke the privilege given by the Constitution to "ambassadors and other public ministers." (*In re* Baiz, 135 U. S. 403).

Notwithstanding the few years spent at school, and the demands upon his time in later years, he found opportunity to acquire a liberal education and complete knowledge of French and Spanish. He was actively interested in the affairs of this Society, and lent his aid in securing historical data respecting Jews in South America and the West Indies.

He died in the City of New York on June 20, 1899.

E. J. N.

WILLIAM S. RAYNER.

William S. Rayner was born in Bavaria in 1822. While preparing to enter a university, the spirit of adventure took possession of him, and he emigrated to Baltimore in 1838, making that city his home until the day of his death, March 1, 1899.

He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and though he retired from active business in 1857, was prominently identified with many financial organizations. He was interested in mining enterprises in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and was for a long time a director in the Western National Bank and the Western Maryland Railroad.

Throughout his career he took an active interest in the philantrophic institutions of Baltimore, filling the offices of director of the House of Refuge, Vice-President of the Poor Association, and Manager of the Home for Incurables. Of the Jewish Institutions, he was most prominently identified with the Hebrew Orphans' Asylum, of which he was President for many years. He was also an honorary director of the Hebrew Hospital, and of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, and was the first President of the latter.

As one of the founders, and the first President of the *Har Sinai* congregation, he always displayed an active interest in promoting its welfare.

MOSES COIT TYLER.[1]

By the death of Moses Coit Tyler on the morning of December 28, 1900, at his home on the Campus of Cornell University, this Society lost one of its most distinguished members. The most important historian of American letters, he combined in its expounding a brilliancy of pen, a depth of scholarship and a broadness of vision that rendered every page he wrote a delight to the reader, and served to place him high among American literary men of the last century.

Born of sterling New England stock, at Griswold, Connecticut, on August 2, 1835, in the early forties, with his parents, he settled at Detroit, Michigan, where the remainder of his boyhood was spent, and where he prepared for college, entering the University of Michigan in 1853. Remaining there but a year, he subsequently passed to Yale College where he was graduated in 1857. He entered upon the study of theology, and the next two years after graduation

[1] This sketch of Prof. Tyler's career is based upon two articles written by his colleague, Prof. G. L. Burr (for the *Critic* of February, 1900, and the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, supplement to April number, 1901), which he kindly placed at my disposal.

were spent at Yale and Andover. In 1859 he became pastor of the Congregational Church in Owego, New York, passing from there to the First Congregational Church, of Poughkeepsie, in the following year, where he served until his health gave way in 1862. His ecclesiastical views underwent a change about this time, and caused him to abandon his clerical career for that of lecturer and writer, the lyceum system being then at its height, and extending "abundant welcome to one with so ready a humor and so fluent and picturesque a diction."

While recuperating at Boston, under the care of Dr. Dio Lewis, he became much interested in his system of physical culture, and in 1863 went to England with the purpose of introducing it into that country. After the first year he gave up this subject, and devoted himself to writing and lecturing. "His letters to American periodicals were widely read and enjoyed; and when he returned, in 1866, it was to a broadened fame."

In 1867 he accepted the call to the chair of English language and literature at the University of Michigan. This he gave up in 1873 for the literary editorship of the *Christian Union*, but in 1874 he returned to his university work. Four years later his first important contribution to American history and letters saw the light, when the "History of American Literature 1607–1765," was published. It at once gave him high standing among American historians and literary men. In 1881 he went to Cornell University to fill the first chair of American history established in America, joining that band of brilliant scholars which President White was bringing to that institution. Here he continued until his death, each year adding to his fame as historian and teacher. He was a member of many societies, among them the American Philosophical, the Massachusetts Historical, the New England Historic-Genealogical, the American Social Science Association, and one of the founders, and at the time of his death a vice-president, and about to

be elected president, of the American Historical Association.

No biography, however adequate, can reproduce the sunny temper of the man, known as the "knight of the sunny countenance" among his colleagues and intimates. To young men, whether his students, or not, the kind words which he was at no little pains to let fall in commendation of serious and careful work, were an inspiration. It was his wont to single them out at meetings of the American Historical Association, and by a suggestion here and a gentle criticism there, to show a helpful interest in the toilers in the field which he had done so much to make his own.

"Not less real and wholesome was his influence among his colleagues themselves," for, as Dr. White said on one occasion, quoting Bossuet, "le style c'est l'homme." Nor was this confined to them, as was witnessed by the feeling of personal loss expressed by many members of the American Historical Association, in session at Detroit when the sad intelligence of his death reached them, and not small was the number who participated in the remainder of the proceedings with a heavy heart. In addition to many pamphlets, magazine articles and reviews, he wrote: "Brawnville Papers," 1868; "History of American Literature, 1607–1765," 1878, and "Literary History of the American Revolution," 1897; a revision of Henry Morley's "Manual of English Literature," 1879; "Patrick Henry" (in the American Statesmen Series,) 1887; "Three Men of letters," 1895; and "Glimpses of England," 1898. H. F.

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II. Its objects shall be the collection, preservation and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of the Jews on the American Continent.

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Members Deceased.

Isaac Minis, Savannah, Ga. 1893.
Jesse Seligman, New York. 1894.
Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, New York. 1894.
Lucien Moss, Philadelphia, Pa. 1895.
Rev. H. M. Bien, Vicksburg, Miss. 1895.
George Shea, New York. 1895.
Louis Schnabel, New York. 1897.
Jacob Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
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Isidor Bush, St. Louis, Mo. 1898.
Jacob Ezekiel, Cincinnati, O. 1899.
Hon. Jacob Baiz, New York. 1899.
William S. Rayner, Baltimore, Md. 1899.
Hon. Charles P. Daly, New York. 1899.
Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, Ithaca, N. Y. 1900.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1015 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., is the sole agent for the sale of the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Publication No. 1, 1893 (143 *pp.*), *containing the following papers:*

Address of the President. *Hon. Oscar S. Straus.*

The Settlement of the Jews in Georgia. *Chas. C. Jones, Jr., LL. D.*

Mickvé Israel Congregation of Philadelphia. *Rev. Sabato Morais, LL. D.*

Some Unpublished Material relating to Dr. Jacob Lumbrozo, of Maryland. *Dr. J. H. Hollander.*

Beginnings of New York Jewish History. *Max J. Kohler, M. A.*

Notes on the Jews of Philadelphia, from Published Annals. *Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.*

The First Publication of a Jewish character printed in Philadelphia. *Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr.*

Jews Mentioned in the Journal of the Continental Congress. *Dr. Herbert Friedenwald.*

A Landmark. *N. Taylor Phillips, LL. B.*

An Act allowing Naturalization of Jews in the Colonies. *Hon. Simon W. Rosendale.*

Jewish Beginnings in Kentucky. *Lewis N. Dembitz.*

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Jews in the American Plantations between 1600 and 1700. *Dr. Cyrus Adler.*

Americana at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition. *Dr. Cyrus Adler.*

A Political Document of the Year 1800. *Dr. Cyrus Adler.*

The Settlement of Jews in Canada. *Andrew C. Joseph.*

Notes and Index.

Only a few copies remain. Price advanced to $2.50 *postpaid.*

No. 2, 1894 (207 *pp.*), *containing the following papers:*

Address of the President. *Hon. Oscar S. Straus.*

A Sketch of Haym Salomon. *Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D.*

On the History of the Jews of Chicago. *Dr. B. Felsenthal.*

The Jewish Congregation in Surinam. *Dr. B. Felsenthal.*

A Sermon by Moses Mendelssohn, printed in Philadelphia 130 years ago. *Dr. B. Felsenthal.*

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Family History of the Reverend David Mendez Machado. *N. Taylor Phillips, LL. B.*

Note concerning David Hays and Esther Etting his Wife, and Michael Hays and Reuben Etting, their Brothers, Patriots of the Revolution. *Solomon Solis-Cohen.*

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The Early Jewish Settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *Henry Necarsulmer, A. M., LL. B.*

Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement. II. *Max J. Kohler, A. M., LL. B.*

Isaac Levy's Claim to Property in Georgia. *Herbert Friedenwald, Ph. D.*

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Notes. *Prof. Richard Gottheil, Rev. H. P. Mendes, Miss Elvira N. Solis, Rev. G. A. Kohut, Max J. Kohler, Herbert Friedenwald, H. C. Ezekiel.*

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RABBI ISAAC KARIGAL

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 10

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1902

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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

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All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 915 N. 16th St., Phila., Pa., U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers, and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

The purposes for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons interested in the work of this Society is cordially invited.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held in the Vestry Rooms of the Temple Emanu-El, in the City of New York, on Thursday, January 30th, 1902. The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The minutes of the last meeting were adopted as printed in the last *Publication* of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, reported that the original roll of membership of the Society contained a total of 184 names. On January 30, 1902, the number had increased to 260, as follows: Honorary, 7; corresponding, 26; life, 4, and active, 223. Since that date, 9 additional active members have been elected.

The Society lost three members by death: the lamented Prof. Herbert B. Adams, the first corresponding member elected, a fitting action on the part of the Society, in that he took an interest in the formation of the Society some years before it was established; Hon. Joseph Blumenthal, of New York, and David Hays, of Rochester, N. Y. Two members resigned during the year 1901. One *Publication*, No. 9, was issued and distributed to the members.

On motion the report was accepted, and it was directed that an abstract thereof be printed in the next volume of the *Publications*. A letter from Hon. Andrew D. White, concerning Volume IX of the Society's *Publications*, which had been sent to him as one of the Society's Honorary Members, was read. It was as follows:

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
BERLIN, *November* 13, 1901.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, ESQ., *Philadelphia:*
My Dear Sir:

Accept my hearty thanks for the copy of No. 9 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, which, returning from America this morning, I find on my table.

A rapid glance through the various articles shows much that interests me deeply, and at my first leisure I expect to give the book a careful reading.

I was very glad to see the tribute paid to my dear old friends, Judge Daly and Professor Tyler, as well as the appreciative notice of the father of my very talented friend, Mr. Ezekiel, the sculptor.

Especially interesting, and a most important subject in American history, is that developing the relation of the Jews to the American anti-slavery movement, and I shall call the attention of our library authorities at Ithaca to it, in view of the fact that we have so large a collection of books and other material on the subject of the anti-slavery effort. From your own article, too, I expect to derive especial profit and pleasure.

With renewed thanks, I remain,

Very respectfully yours, (Signed)

ANDREW D. WHITE.

The Treasurer, Prof. Richard H. Gottheil, presented the following report:

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society, October 1, 1901.

DR.

To Balance, Knickerbocker Trust Company, October 1, 1900	$1,214.34	
Dues and back dues from members	881.35	
Returned on overpaid bill	0.70	
Gift from Mr. Andrew Green	25.00	
Sale of *Publications* through American Jewish Publication Society	52.20	
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to December 31, 1900	7.94	
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to June 30, 1901	12.97	
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to September 26, 1901	6.75	
Total receipts		$2,201.25
Total expenditures		254.69
Balance, Knickerbocker Trust Company		$1,926.14
Cash in hands of Treasurer		20.42
Total balance		$1,946.56

Cr.

Miscellaneous printing	$ 13.96
Office expenses, clerk hire and postage	116.28
Stationery	46.65
Romeike, press clippings	5.00
Expenses of meeting in Philadelphia	14.00
Translation	8.50
Copying of MS	2.00
Index to Volume VIII	20.18
Insurance	27.00
Collection on out-of-town checks	1.12
Total	$254.69

Statement of the Assets of the Society, October 1, 1901.

Balance in the Knickerbocker Trust Company	$1,926.14
Cash in hands of Treasurer	20.42
Former deposit in Albany Savings Bank	1,234.18
Present deposit in Albany Savings Bank	1,277.75

The report was received, and on motion referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Lee Kohns, Esq., and Rev. R. A. Benjamin, M. A.

A Nominating Committee was appointed, consisting of Charles J. Cohen, Esq., Rev. A. Blum and A. S. Freidus, Esq., who reported in favor of the re-election of all the officers, and on motion the Secretary was directed to cast one vote in their favor.

The election of the following officers was accordingly announced: President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mendes Cohen, Esq., Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Prof. Charles Gross; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Recording Secretary, Max J. Kohler, Esq.; Treasurer, Prof. Richard H. Gottheil; Additional Members of the Executive Council, Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, John Samuel, Esq.; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen, Prof. Morris Loeb, Prof. J. H. Hollander. Hon. Oscar S. Straus is an ex officio member, as ex-President of the Society.

It was announced that a Publication Committee for the ensuing year had been appointed, to consist of Prof. J. H. Hollander (chairman), Dr. A. Friedenwald and Mendes Cohen, Esq.

Obituaries of deceased members—Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Hon. Joseph Blumenthal and Mr. David Hays—were presented.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to the officers of the Temple Emanu-El for the use of their rooms.

The following papers were presented:

I. *Jewish Activity in Early American Commerce*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

II. *A Note on Jewish Names in the Maryland Muster Rolls*, 1775–1783, by Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore.

III. *Memoir of the Rev. Abraham Pereira Mendes*, by Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, New York.

IV. *References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles*, by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Philadelphia.

V. *Solomon Heydenfeldt: a Jewish Jurist of Alabama and California*, by Albert M. Friedenberg, Esq., New York.

VI. *The Damascus Affair and the Jews of America*, by Joseph Jacobs, Esq., New York.

VII. *Letters from Col. David S. Franks*, by Oscar S. Straus, Esq., New York.

VIII. *Passages from the Diary of Robert Morris*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

IX. *Sampson Simson*, by M. S. Isaacs, Esq., New York.

X. *The Jews of Georgia During the American Revolution*, by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

XI. *President's Address*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

XII. *A Method of Determining the Jewish Population of Large Cities in the United States*, by Dr. George E. Barnett, Baltimore.

XIII. *Major Mordecai Myers and Some Glimpses of New York*, 1780–1820, by Henry Necarsulmer, Esq., New York.

XIV. *A Sketch of the History of the Jews of Chicago*, by H. Eliassof, Esq., Chicago.

XV. *Isaac Pinto*, by Leon Hühner.

XVI. *The Cincinnati Community in* 1825, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati.

XVII. *Elements of the Jewish Population of the United States*, by Miss Henrietta Szold, Baltimore.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

Dr. Cyrus Adler.

To the Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to be enabled to greet so many of you upon the occasion of the tenth meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society. Organized in this city in 1892 for the double purpose of gathering the materials which would enable the student of American history to understand the relation of the Jews to the settlement and progress of the American Continent, and the student of Jewish history to write a new chapter in the never-ending history of the Jews, the Society has steadily pursued the policy of collecting and publishing authentic material.

It has not been deemed the province of the Society to write history, but rather to make the writing of history possible.

To this end printed and manuscript sources in national and state libraries in the United States, in the West India Islands and even in England, and to a very limited extent on the continent of Europe, have been examined and, as far as they were deemed important, made accessible in printed form—the ninth volume of our Publications having been issued during the past year. In these nine volumes no less than 99 papers have been published written by 39 separate authors, indicating that about one-fifth of our membership has been actively engaged in historical study.

Of the other method used by societies with aims kindred to our own to foster their purposes—I mean the securing

of manuscripts, books and objects of historical interest—I have a less satisfactory statement to make.

Our Society possesses a few manuscripts, a few rare books, and a very few portraits and historical objects, but we are without a custodian and without a home. Your governing body has steadily adhered to the opinion that the seat of this Society should be in the City of New York, but thus far the necessary arrangements have not been completed. I trust that the day may not be far distant when a suitable place will be found in this city.

Many of you will recall the eloquent plea made by Mr. Joseph Jacobs at our last annual meeting for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition. The Society at that meeting authorized the appointment of a special committee which after due deliberation made a report to the Council favorable to the holding of such an exhibition. Committees were appointed and promises of co-operation secured from nearly all of the National Jewish Organizations in this country. After mature consideration it has been decided to hold this exhibition about one year from the present time. The past year has been one of exceptional activity in Jewish affairs in the United States, and as the field is a large one and the workers few, it was deemed advisable to avoid even the appearance of conflict with important projects which had been initiated prior to the suggestion of the Exhibition. I look forward to the realization of this plan in the near future, and to many useful results which will inevitably flow therefrom.

This being the tenth meeting of the Society and subjects for a presidential address being always difficult to find it had occurred to me that it might be suitable to-night to review our first ten years work, but the idea however tempting was put aside. As a Society we are too young to engage in retrospection—we must be looking to the future and taking counsel as to how we may best promote the objects for which we banded together.

I notice a disposition on the part of some scientifically trained students who might fairly be expected to take an interest in our work to hold aloof, and, have heard the criticism expressed that a body such as ours is in danger of exaggerating the importance of the Jews both as historical and economic factors on the American continent. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. As I have said on another occasion, we have neither personal, partisan nor professional ends, and are devoted solely to ascertaining and making known whatever there may be of seeming importance or interest concerning the migration and settlement, the life and the development, the growth of religious and communal institutions, and the relations to the general community and to science, literature and art, the learned professions, industry and commerce of the Jews who have settled upon this great continent.

To this end we have done something—much is yet to be done. Our national archives have been examined by a conscientious student but it can hardly be expected that they yielded up all their treasures. The same to even a greater degree is true of our state archives. I am convinced that the state archives and the state historical societies not only of those which have sprung from the thirteen original colonies, but of the very much larger number formed since, contain material of importance to our work. Each one of these should be taken up methodically, should be worked up carefully and reported upon soberly. I fully realize the interest attaching to the West Indies, to Central and South America, and have myself yielded to their fascination, yet I must emphasize the fact that our foremost duty is to the territory of the United States. When the history of the Jews in every state of the Union is fully known, then and only then can we afford to throw our strength elsewhere.

The life of American Jewry—indeed of Jewry everywhere in its dispersion—is so intimately bound up with the origin and growth of its religious and communal organizations that

an increasing amount of work should be done in this direction. We will always welcome brief, accurate statements compiled from original records of the origin and growth of all such institutions.

This is an historical society preëminently yet we are glad to receive studies in the field of economic and statistical science. So much of political history, so much of institutional history, so much of the history of the people is bound up with economic sciences that we would not separate them if we could and in our own small body of scholars such a course would be especially unwise. That we have not followed such a policy is evidenced by the papers of economic interest which have from time to time been read at our meetings and later found a place in our publications.

And yet I cannot but feel that political history in the sense of the relation of the Jews to the origin and founding of this Republic whether through the formation of its political ideals, the maintenance of its cause upon the field of battle, the making of its laws in the halls of legislation, their carrying into effect by executive officers and the maintenance of pleasant and useful relations with the community of nations through diplomatic and consular officials to be the principal work of this society and these aims I heartily commend to the members and to such as by similarity of interest may in the future join our ranks.

REFERENCES TO JEWS IN THE DIARY OF EZRA STILES.[1]

By Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., *University of Pennsylvania.*

Ezra Stiles, born December 10, 1727, at North Haven, Conn., was the fifth president of Yale College, who presided over the fortunes of that institution from 1778,[2] until his death on May 12, 1795, at the age of 67. Previous to his election to the presidency of Yale, he had been for almost 23 years pastor of the Second Congregational Church at Newport, having been installed there October 22, 1765. At the time not quite 28 years old he had already served a long apprenticeship before entering upon the serious part of his career. After his graduation at Yale in 1746 he continued his studies at New Haven until 1750, accepting during the last year of his stay a tutorship in the college. Licensed to preach on the 30th of May, 1749, he began some mission work among the Indians in 1750, which however, he was obliged to abandon in 1752 on account of ill health, and took up the study of law. In 1753 he took the attorney's oath and practiced until 1755 when he returned to the ministry by accepting a position at Newport.

This long and varied preparation is no doubt a factor in accounting for the unusually wide range of Dr. Stiles' interests as illustrated by his diary, and for a breadth of sentiment, notwithstanding the most pronounced religious convictions, that is in striking contrast, not indeed to the age in which he lived, but to the prevailing narrowness of the

[1] *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles,* President of Yale College. Edited under the authority of the Corporation of Yale University, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. 3 vols. N. Y., 1901.

[2] Installed July 8th, though his duties began June 23d.

circles in which he moved. As a consequence, his literary diary touches upon every conceivable topic; there is nothing which does not interest him from the town gossip to the latest researches in astronomy. He goes to infinite trouble in drawing up lists of parishioners and of his towns people; he furnishes drafts of long letters to his various correspondents; is interested in the minutest details of revolutionary affairs; gives extracts of countless sermons that he delivers or hears, besides noting with painstaking accuracy his thoughts, plans and projects. We can follow his readings and studies from day to day and year to year, while no item seems to be too unimportant in connection with his duties as minister or as President of Yale not to be noted at length in this truly remarkable aud most fascinating diary.

Dr. Stiles' association with Jews and his keen interest in the Jews as a people have been several times referred to in papers read before this Society. Mr. George Kohut in a paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America,"[1] furnishes several lengthy extracts from Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews* (London, 1818) setting forth chiefly Ezra Stiles relations with Haym Isaac Karigal,[2] a native of Hebron, who in the extent and variety of his peregrinations might serve as a type of the genuine "wandering Jew"—a species of religious 'tramp' not uncommon in those days. The relations between Stiles and Karigal are again referred to by Mr. Max J. Kohler in his valuable paper on "The Jews of Newport,"[3] and thirdly, the Rev. W. Willner devoted an entire article to Ezra Stiles and the Jews,[4] in which a number of extracts from the unpublished papers of Ezra Stiles are furnished, though in a rather disconnected manner. The recent publication of the Diary of Ezra Stiles by the Yale Corporation makes it possible to gather a far clearer and more satisfactory view of Dr. Stiles' relations to Jews than heretofore. This diary be-

[1] *Publications* No. 3, pp. 122–125.
[2] See below, pp. 22–32.
[3] *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 78–79.
[4] *Pub.* No. 8, pp. 119–126.

queathed by Dr. Stiles to his successor in office represents only a portion of the Stiles papers at Yale University; there are in addition six volumes of an *Itinerary,* covering the years 1760 to 1795, besides thirteen bound volumes of correspondence and several hundred unbound letters; to these must be added a volume of manuscript notes of a miscellaneous character and statistics for an ecclesiastical History of New England, begun by him in 1769.[1] We are not, therefore, certain of having all the material in these papers bearing on the Jews,[2] but the items in the published diary no doubt represent the bulk of such material and presumably also the most important portion of it.

One is struck at once upon taking up the Diary by the large number of references to Jews and to Jewish affairs, although they are almost all confined to the period of his residence at Newport. The Diary begins on January 1, 1769, and extends to within a few days of Stiles' death. The first entry about the Jews occurs as early as March 16, 1769, which day, he tells us, he spent mostly with the "Jew priest," Isaac de Abraham Touro,[3] in a discussion on biblical prophecies. From that time until the outbreak of the Revolution, which, when it began, absorbed almost all his thoughts, scarcely a month passes without some entry referring either to conversations or to correspondence with Jews, or to discussions on religious questions with them, or to items of interest regarding Jews. Before the Revolution

[1] The History itself (or a portion of it), in manuscript is now the property of the Mass. Hist. Soc. I beg to express my acknowledgment to Prof. F. B. Dexter, who has kindly given me some information as to the unpublished sections of Stiles' papers; he also informs me that he hopes to publish ere long another volume of selections from these papers.

[2] Willner, in his article referred to (*Pub.* No. 8), gives some extracts from the Stiles' papers which are not found in Dexter's publication.

[3] In the Diary, as published, the name is often given as Tauro, but this is perhaps an editorial slip. Instead of Isaac de Abraham, Stiles sometimes writes Abraham de Isaac.

came to an end, Stiles had removed to New Haven, and in his new surroundings his intercourse with Jews ceased. New Haven contained very few Jewish citizens at that time, and while his interest in the Jews continued, he finds but few occasions to refer to them, though there is a Jewish reference as late as March 1, 1795 (vol. III, p. 556).

I.

Taking up first the references of a general character, we have an interesting list of the Jews of Newport, drawn up by Stiles in 1760. The list (vol. I, p. 11) reads as follows:

2 Harts	4 souls.	Isaac Elizur[5]	2 souls.
Moses Levy[1] & Brother,	7 "	old Polloc[6]	6 "
		Issachar Polloc[7] . . .	1 "
—— Sarsides[2]	6 "	—— Polloc, junior[8] . .	2 "
Aaron Lopez[3]	7 "	Rod. Levarez[9] . . .	5 "
Moses Lopez	11 "	—— Hart[10]	2 "
Jacob Isaacs[4]	5 "	—— Lucina[11]	– "

[1] For Moses Levy see Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6., p. 76, and Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, pp. 212–213; also Mendes *R. I. Hist. Mag.* VI, p. 94.

[2] Sarsadas is intended for Seixas. Probably Isaac Mendes Seixas (d. Nov. 3, 1780) is meant. See Kohler, *ib.*, and also Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, p. 202, where the date 1765 must be a slip for 1745 or 1746 (cf. p. 209).

[3] For Aaron Lopez see Kohler: *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 70–75; No. 4, p. 88, and No. 2, pp. 101–106.

[4] Jacob Isaacs is identical with the subject of Friedenwald's article, *Pub.* No. 2, pp. 111–117; See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 77–78, and Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 61.

[5] Elizur is an error for Elizar (See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 71), and Peterson, *ib.*, p. 59.

[6] Perhaps Isaac Polak, who died May 23, 1764. (Mendes, *ib.* p. 87.)

[7] See Peterson, *ib.*

[8] Perhaps Cullom Polloc. Peterson, *ib.*

[9] Rod. Levarez is probably intended for Rodriguez Alvarez. Moses Alvarez is mentioned by Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 76. See also Hollander, *Pub.* No. 5, p. 113, and Mendes, *ib.*, p. 88.

[10] One of the Harts is probably intended for Solomon Hart (Kohler *Pub.* No. 6, p. 70).

[11] See Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 53.

The total number, according to Dr. Stiles, is at least fifty-eight, but he adds in a note "Moses Levy reckons 56 souls of Jews Mar. 2nd, 1761, and 10 Families."

Among Stiles' papers there is preserved a draft of a letter to the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Lardner of London, dated June 20, 1764, and from it we learn that in that year there were fifteen or twenty families of Jews in Newport. The extract reads as follows (vol. I, page 11): "We have 15 or 20 Families of Jews here, almost the only ones in New England (& perhaps there are not so many more on this Continent). They have erected a small Synagogue in New York; and another at Newport met in for the first time in December last; it is superbly finished withinside at a Cost of £2,000 sterling; in the place of the Ark they have deposited Three Vellum Copies, Rolls of the Law, one of which is said to be above Two hundred years old, which I judge true from the Aspect & Rabbinical Flourishes. They have a Chuzzan from Amsterdam."

Dr. Stiles was present at the dedication of the Synagogue at Newport on December 2, 1763, and among his papers there is an elaborate description of the services on that occasion as well as of the building.

"December 2, 1763, Friday. In the Afternoon was the dedication of the new Synagogue in this Town. It began by a handsome procession in which were carried the Books of the Law, to be deposited in the Ark. Several Portions of Scripture, & of their Service with a Prayer for the Royal Family, were read and finely sung by the priests & People. There were present many Gentlemen & Ladies. The Order and Decorum, the Harmony & Solemnity of the Musick, together with a handsome Assembly of People, in a Edifice the most perfect of the Temple kind perhaps in America, & splendidly illuminated, could not but raise in the Mind a faint Idea of the Majesty & Grandeur of the Ancient Jewish Worship mentioned in Scripture.

"Dr. Isaac de Abraham Touro performed the Service.

The Synagogue is about perhaps fourty foot long & 30 wide, of Brick on a Foundation of free Stone: it was begun about two years ago, & is now finished except the Porch & the Capitals of the Pillars. The Front representation of the holy of holies or its Partition Veil, consists only of wainscotted Breast Work on the East End, in the lower part of which four long Doors cover an upright Square Closet the depth of which is about a foot or the thickness of the Wall, & in this Apartment (vulgarly called the Ark) were deposited three Copies & Rolls of the Pentateuch, written on Vellum or rather tanned Calf Skin; one of these Rolls I was told by Dr. Touro was presented from Amsterdam & is Two Hundred years old; the Letters have the Rabbinical Flourishes.

"A Gallery for the Women runs round the whole Inside, except the East End supported by Colums of Ionic order, over which are placed correspondent Columns of the Corinthian order supporting the Cieling of the Roof. The Depth of the Corinthian Pedestal is the height of the Balustrade which runs round the Gallery. The Pulpit for Reading the Law, is a raised Pew with an extended front table; this placed about the center of the Synagogue or nearer the West End, being a Square embalustraded Comporting with the Length of the indented Chancel before & at the Foot of the Ark.

"On the middle of the North Side & affixed to the Wall is a raised Seat for the Parnas or Ruler, & for the Elders; the Breast and Back interlaid with Chinese Mosaic Work. A Wainscotted Seat runs round the Sides of the Synagogue below, & another in the Gallery. There are no other Seats or pews. There may be Eighty Souls of Jews or 15 families now in Town. The Synagogue has already cost Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling. There are to be five Lamps pendant from a lofty Ceiling."[1] (Vol. I, p. 6, note.)

[1] The lamps were subsequently imported and bear inscriptions in Hebrew. The synagogue, it will be recalled, was built in 1762-1763

From this account it would appear that the number of Jews had increased from 56 in 1761 to 80 in 1763. In view of this small number one is disposed to raise the question what became of the 15 families who according to Petersen[1] and to Fishell's Chronological notes of the History of the Jews in America[2] settled there in 1658. It is to be noted that only a very few of the family names of these supposed earliest settlers as furnished by N. H. Gould of Newport[3] are to be found in Stiles' list.[4] If therefore, the statement as to the settlement in 1658 is correct, it would appear that either all these families died out, which is unlikely, or that they subsequently left Newport. From another entry in the Diary May 19th, 1769 (vol. 1, p. 11) it appears that the number had increased in five years to "about 25 families."

Dr. Stiles was a frequent visitor to the Synagogue and evidently kept himself informed of the special occasions—festivals—when he might learn something of the Jewish ceremonial. So we find him attending the services at the feast of Purim and listening to the reading of the Book of Esther (vol. I p. 97) and again on the eve of Passover, (Mar. 29, 1771) while of the services that took place on the day of Passover, he gives the following account which contains some items of interest.[5]

"Mar. 30-1771 Went to the Synagogue, it being PASS-

by Peetr Harrison and stood in the immediate neighborhood of Dr. Stiles' house. For a collection of the more important references to this synagogue see Kohler's note, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 78.

[1] *History of R. I.*, p. 101.

[2] *Hist. Mag.* Series I, vol. IV, p. 52-53 ; See *Pub.* No. 2 p. 99.

[3] *Daly's Jews of North America*, p. 78.

[4] Isaac Isaacs, Moses Isaacs (Gould); Jacob Isaacs (Stiles). If Elizur (Stiles) is the same as Eleazar (Gould) then we would have a second name common to the two lists. In a list drawn up by Stiles in 1762 of owners of vessels in Newport and published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, p. 124), but not included in the published Diary a Mr Meyers is referred to and since the name likewise occurs in Gould's list, this would make a third name.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 97–98.

OVER. They read from two Vellum Copies or Rolls of the Law in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon they began by reading a Portion out of *Solomons Song.* This was new to me. I knew not before that the Canticles were ever publickly read in the Synagogue & least of all that it was a usage at the Passover. They shewed me a Copy of the Canticles with a Spanish Translation: & also subjoyned was a spanish Translation of the Chaldee Targum on the Canticles."

He went to the Synagogue again on September 14th, 1771 and also on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, September 30th, 1771 and in an account of a visit on April 18th, 1772 he speaks of the offerings made on that occasion by the members of the congregation.[1]

"April 18–1772. I went to the Synagogue, it being שבת פסח Sabbath of the Passover. They read in the *Law* the passages which give an Account of the Exodus and Institution of the passover; and also a passage about Vth of Joshua concerning Circumcision and rolling away the Reproach of Egypt. Several mentioned over the Names of their dead friends, for whom Prayers were immediately made. Large offerings or Alms were made to probably forty dollars as one of the Jews estimated, and I believe true; for sundry offered Chai Livre i. e. £16 or two Dollars—and I judge Mr. Aaron Lopez offered ten or a dozen of these Chai. I asked one when they should have killed the Pascal Lambs if they had been at Jerusalem? he replied, too day. But I doubt it; he was ignorant."

II.

Passing on to some individual Jews with whom Stiles became acquainted, his most frequent associations are with Isaac Touro, whom he sometimes speaks of as "Jew priest" and again as the "Chuzzan" or "Chuzan" or "Huzan" or

[1] Vol. I, p. 225.

"Hazen." Touro came to Newport about 1766[1] from Jamaica, remaining as the reader of the Synagogue until the departure of the Jews from Newport after the Revolution, when he also left the place and returned to Jamaica, dying at Kingston December 8, 1783.[2] Dr. Stiles pays frequent visits to Touro and receives visits from him in return. Their discussions are chiefly theological, dealing with questions of biblical exegesis, of religious doctrine, of prophecies and the like. He had, however, also a personal interest in his clerical friend for he tells us that on the afternoon of June 30, 1773, "Mr. Abraham de Isaac Tauro, the Hazen or Reader in the Synagogue here was married to Miss Hayes, a Jewess. Rabbi Isaac[3] performed the ceremony" (vol. I, p. 393).

A curious notice occurs about Mr. Touro July 24th, 1776 (vol. II, p. 29) to the effect that "Mr. Touro the Jew priest" was excused from being summoned before the Assembly of Rhode Island to testify his willingness not to acknowledge the King of England in his prayers, on the ground of being a "foreigner." Touro appears also in a list drawn up by Dr. Stiles of those who remained in Newport after it was taken by the British December 8th, 1777. Among others mentioned in this list (vol. II, p. 131-134) are Nathan Hart, Isaac Hart and two others of the name of Hart; Isaac Elizur, Hyam Levi, Moses Satias,[4] and Moses Levy. Dr. Stiles is careful to note in this long list of several hundred names those who are suspected of Tory tendencies, while two, three and four

[1] He must have come later than 1764 for in that year Dr. Stiles writes to Dr. Lardner (as above) that the "Chuzzan" of the Synagogue is from Amsterdam.

[2] Phillips, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 138; Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport* pp. 61–64; Mendes, *R. I. Historical Magazine*, vol. VI, p. 100.

[3] *i. e.* Isaac Karigal.

[4] *i. e.* Seixas. He was the son of Isaac Mendez Seixas, was born March 28, 1744, and died November 29, 1809. See Mendes, *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, VI, p. 100, and Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, pp. 201 and 203. For Hyam Levi see Phillips, *ib.*, p. 213.

stars indicate ascending degrees of Toryism. In view of this, it is somewhat interesting to note that none of the Jewish names are marked with even one star. It has sometimes been inferred from this friendship between Stiles and Touro that the Christian divine received his Hebrew knowledge from the Jewish reader[1] but such is not the case. Stiles began the study of Hebrew, for himself, carrying it on regularly day by day. He is at pains to note when he finishes the reading of the entire Bible in Hebrew and after he finds himself sufficiently versed in this language, advances to the study of rabbinical literature; he is deeply interested in the mediaeval commentators and philosophers, and also takes up the study of Arabic. All this as early as 1770. At the most he may have had some assistance from Mr. Touro[2] who does not appear to have been a very profound student himself.

Another acquaintance of Stiles was the prominent merchant Aaron Lopez, of whom Mr. Kohler has treated at some length in his article on the Jews of Newport. The Diary takes note of the fact (vol. I, p. 270) that Mr. Lopez did not join in the non-importation agreement of the American merchants and that as a consequence the custom house afterward showed him all leniency and favor. As Stiles puts it "he has above 20 Sail of Vessels and his Captains are all exempt from Swearing at the Custom house and make their entries etc. without Oath." From various indications we are justified in concluding that, as in New York and Philadelphia, so at Newport some of the prominent

[1] So for example Kohut, *Pub.* No. 3, p. 124. Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, p. 120) goes even further but there appears to be as little warrant for the strange statement, based on Holmes' *Life of Stiles*, pp. 128–130, that Stiles having learnt 10 letters of the Hebrew alphabet "requested one of his Jewish friends to teach him the others;" as for the statement that Stiles delivered a Hebrew oration at the time of his installation as President of Yale College. The oration was in Latin (see Diary, vol. II, p. 281).

[2] See note in the Diary, vol. II, p. 290.

Jews had Tory proclivities, though it is hardly likely that Stiles is correct in his assertion March 20th, 1777, vol. II, p. 151, that the Jewish citizens made themselves obnoxious by informing against the inhabitants.[1] It must be remembered that at the outbreak of the Revolution, the interests of merchants who had dealings with England naturally made them averse to a violent break with the mother country, and while Jews no doubt furnished their share of patriots, the sympathy of the wealthier ones among them, as among the wealthier in other sections of the community, were guided by considerations for their own welfare. Aaron Lopez it would appear subsequently espoused the American cause.[2] However that may be, Stiles' high personal regard for Lopez was not affected by political differences between the two men. This is indicated by a sketch of Lopez' life which is included in the Diary and which furnishes us with some details hitherto unknown. He writes at New Haven on the 8th of June, 1782, as follows:[3]

"On 28th of May died that amiable, benevolent, most hospitable & very respectable Gentleman, Mr. *Aaron Lopez* Merchant, who retir^{g} from Newp^{t} Rhd. Isld in these Times resided from 1775 to his Death at Leicester in Massachusetts. He was a Jew by Nation, came from Spain or Portugal about 1754 & settled at Rh. Isld. He was a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor and Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merch^{t} in America. He did Business with the greatest Ease & Clearness—always carried about with him a Sweetness of Behav.

[1] It would be interesting to ascertain the real facts behind the strange statements about a "secret Intelligence office" managed by Jews in London and supported by the English Ministry (vol. I, p. 65). In the form in which Stiles reproduces the statements on the authority of a Cap't Peck, they bear the mark of absurdity on their face.

[2] Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 73-74.

[3] Vol. III, p. 24.

a calm Urbanity an agreeable & unaffected Politeness of manners. Without a single Enemy & the most universally beloved by an extensive Acquaintance of any man I ever knew. His Beneficence to his Fam^{y} connexions, to his Nation & to all the World is almost without a Parallel. He was my intimate Friend & Acquaintance! Oh! how often have I wished that sincere pious & candid mind could have perceived the Evidences of X^{ty}, perceived the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ, known that *Jesus* was the *Messiah* predicted by Moses & the Prophets. The amiable & excellent Characters of a *Lopez*, of a *Manasseh Ben Israel*, of a *Socrates* & a *Gangenelli*, would almost persuade us to hope that their Excellency was infused by Heaven, and that the virtuous & good of all Nations & Religions, notwithstand^{g} their Delusions, may be bro't together in Paradise on the Xtian System, finding Grace with the all benevolent & adorable Emmanuel who with his expiring breath & in his deepest agonies, prayed for those who knew not what they did.

"M^{r}. Lopez was journey^{g} with his Wife & some of his Fam^{y} on a visit to Newport, and within five Miles of Providence at Scotts pond as he was water^{g} his Horse, the Horse plunged beyond his Depth with the Sulky, when M^{r} Lopez leaped into the Water; and tho his serv^{t} attempted to save him he was lost. His Corps was carried to Newport & there interred in the Jew Burying Ground there—the Demonstration of universal Sorrow attended the Funeral."

It was Dr. Stiles also who in May, 1783, composed the English inscription for Lopez' tombstone which is embodied by Mr. Kohler in his paper.[1]

[1] *Pub.* No. 6, p. 75; see also Mendes, *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, vol. VI, pp. 90–91; Lopez came to Newport in Oct., 1752, not in 1746, as stated by Dexter, vol. III, p. 25. See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 72. Among Stiles' papers are several drafts of this inscription. In an extract from Stiles' papers published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, pp. 125–126) there is a reference to the refusal in 1762 of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to grant the application for naturalization of "Aron Lopez and Isaac Elizur." See Kohler (*Pub.* No. 6, pp. 71, 72).

Another prominent citizen at Newport with whom Stiles was acquainted was Isaac Hart, who, according to Kohler,[1] espoused the Tory cause and was killed in the attack on Fort George. He is several times referred to in the Diary, though none of the references are of much importance. It will be recalled that Hart was among those who remained in Newport after its capture, and in view of the statement generally made that he was a Tory, it is rather strange that Stiles should not have marked him as such. In an entry of March 26, 1771, Stiles refers to a letter in Hebrew received by Mr. Hart from Macpelah in the Holy Land. This letter proved to be one of the ordinary appeals for aid which still constitute a prominent element in the epistolary literature of Palestine. With his customary accuracy Dr. Stiles furnishes details of interest.[2]

"The preceding Letter contains a Represent[a] of the Jews suffering in the holy Land. It is dated from *Hebron* in the year of the Creation 5523 corresponding with A. D. 1763. Signed Aaron Aliphander, Hijam Jeudah alias Gomez Peto, Isaac Hajja Zabi the priest, Elias Son of Archa, Phinehas Mordecai Bag Ive, Abraham Gedelia the younger. They represent that they are taxed or amerced 25,000 pieces of Eight, & send forth two Brethren to collect it by contribution. This Letter was sent to Mr. Isaac Hart of Rhode Island."

He also speaks of attending the funeral of Mr. David Lopez, March 27, 1775, on which occasion (vol. I, 529) he makes the following entry:

"Attended the funeral of M[r] David Lopez who died yesterday Morning æt. 61, and was this day at Noon buried in the Jews Burying Ground. He came from Portugal a few years ago, & with his two sons was circumcised, having been obliged to live secreted in Portugal. No Mourning, tho' the Family wealthy."

[1] *Ib.*, *Pub.* No. 4, p. 89.

[2] Vol. I, p. 98.

A reference to Moses Lopez, though of no special import, may be found in vol. I, p. 256. Aaron and David Lopez were half brothers to Moses Lopez (see *Pub.* No. 2, p. 104). Moses Lopez was the first of the Lopez family to reach Newport (*Pub.* No. 6, p. 72).[1]

III.

As a theologian Stiles was especially interested in discussing doctrinal points with Rabbis, and he reminds us[2] that he has been acquainted with six Rabbis.

R. Moses Malki in 1759
R. Moses Bar David æt. 52
1772 Nov
R. Haijm I. Karigal æt. 40
1773 June
R. Tobiah Ben Jehudah æt. 48
1773 Nov
R. Bosquila 1773 or 1774
R. Samuel Cohen.

An editorial note informs us that R. Moses Malki was born and educated at Safed, in the Holy Land, and that he was in Newport in December, 1759. Dr. Stiles, it is said, has preserved some notes of information received from him, but they are not included in the published Diary.

The second of those mentioned he met at Newport November 9th, 1772.

"This Forenoon I visited a learned Jew in Town and on his Travels. He is really a Rabbi. His title is .... 'The Doctor our Doctor the great *Rabbi, Moses the Son of David* an Ashcanazin of little Poland, of the holy Synagogue at Apta. He is now Æt. 52 born at Apta in Poland. . . .

"In the Afternoon Rabbi *Moses* came to my house, in Company with Huzan *Touro* of this Town. We had much Conversation both of his Travels and on the Talmud and

[1] See also Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 56.
[2] Entry July 5, 1783. Vol. III, p. 77.

Rabbinical Literature. I shewed him the Zohar, with which he was much delighted, speaking with Raptures of the Sublimity and Mysteries of its Contents; he told me if I could comprehend that Book I should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World. . . . ."[1]

Stiles saw Rabbi Moses a number of times during November and December discussing doctrinal points, of which the following entries may be taken as a specimen:[2]

"November 23, 1772: This Afternoon visited by Rabbi Moses and Mr. Tauro. The Whimsical Visionary though I hope honest Mr. Pipels being present, I told Rabbi Moses that this Man had seen Visions of Angels, . . . R. Moses smiled, and Mr. Pipels began to relate his Extraordinaries with Warmth. R. Moses asked him the Color of the Angel, said he was mistaken as to his vision, for that he was the Angel that appeared to him, but was sure he told him no such Thing. This humor & sarcasm toutched and a little confounded Mr. Pipels who after some Talk took Leave and departed to cross the ferries and return to Pensylvania. R. Moses spent the rest of the Afternoon in my study, explaining the Zohar to me . . . This day I paid for my Zohar 22/6 sterling. This Forenoon I spent read[g] Dionysius Areopag whom I find to have the same sublime Mysteries as the Zohar."

Stiles met Rabbi Tobiah the following year and likewise probed him with questions. The two important entries that follow upon this acquaintance are as follows:

"Nov. 22–1773. Visited this Afternoon by Rabbi Tobiah Bar Jehudah late from —— near Cracow in Poland aet. 48. We had much conversation on the Zohar."[3]

"Nov. 23–1773. The Rabbi visited me again or came to my house but I was not at home. In the Evening I visited

[1] Vol. I, p. 299.

[2] Vol. I, p. 302.

[3] Vol. I, p. 422. See a reference to Tobiah's supposed "Adaptness" in practical Cabbala, vol. II, p. 174.

him at Mr. Tauro's—and supped with them, the only Time I ever happened at Meal with a Jew. Just before they sat down to supper, Water was bro't by the Maid in a white earthern Bottle which stood in a Vase or Bason: they two washed their hands, taking up the bottle and pouring the Water on the hand. I asked if this was טבל (because the Baptists say this word denotes total, not partial, Immersions) they said yes—& quoted a passage of the Talmud that none can eat till they had thus washed themselves in which I recollect the word טבל was twice repeated. I did not wash, but sat down and eat with them. After sitting, each in a whispering voice said Grace for himself. The Rabbi said, that in the days of Messiah, it would be allowed to the Jews to eat Swines Flesh—. I said that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when they come with Messiah, would not eat Food as formerly; he said they would.—I said Circumcision must cease—he said not—I added Childbearing must cease when the World was full as it would be in Messiahs day, and then there would be no more to circumcise and so it must cease. . . . I asked him the Value of a couple of Pearls I had & of the dimensions I described; he said if good 500 Ducats, which is about £100 sterling . . . He is a great *Cabbalist* and Philosopher; which two Branches of knowledge are far more to his Tast than the Talmud. He has a son of about 13 years age—when aet. 12 he had read thro' the Talmud. This Rabbi was educated and spent 26 years in Amsterdam, whither he was sent aet. 8. He told me he was of the Family and ninth Descendant of *R. Selomoh Ishaaci* the celebrated Commentator who died A. D. 1180."[1]

[1] *Ib.* Stiles' deep interest in Jewish customs is shown by the lengthy note, vol. I, pp. 254–256. See also Willner, *Pub.* No. 8, p. 125—another extract (based on Holmes' *Life of Stiles*, p. 173) not included in the published Diary. Vol. I, p. 17, he refers to the fact that the Jews of New York had expected the Messiah in 1768. Rather strange is his assertion that the Jews are wont in a thunderstorm to open doors and windows in expectation of the Messiah (vol. I, p. 19).

On December 4, 1773, Stiles went to the Synagogue and heard Rabbi Tobiah preach in Dutch. His sermon lasted, as Stiles particularly notes, 56 minutes.

Rabbi Bosquila he met June 15, 1774, and in a description of this personage institutes a rather quaint comparison with a certain class of Christian divines. "Yesterday visited a new Rabbi came to Town. Rabbi Bosquila from Smyrna in the Levant where he was born and educated. He resided with his Family 14 years in London, is now aet. 61, for many years has followed Traffic & laid aside his rabbinical Studies. He says he has not read the Talmud which I was surprised at, as by the Certificate under the hands of a London Rabbi he appears to be indeed a Rabbi—but he has read the Zohar. The Bible and Zohar he is versed in and few other books. He is of contracted and limited Literature—he is among the Rabbins, as a Minister whose Reading has been limited to the Bible and Willards [Ridglys] Body of Divinity among the Ministers of New England."[1]

Stiles met Rabbi Samuel Cohen on June 30th, 1775. The Rabbi he states "came from Jerusalem 3½ years ago." (Vol. I, p. 578.) In connection with a visit from this Rabbi to Dr. Stiles on July 10th, 1775, a short entry is made regarding his personality.—"Rabbi Samuel Cohen visited me with the Huzan of the Synagogue. The Rabbi is aet. 34, was born & educated in the Holy Land & came from Hebron about 3 years ago. He is a *Priest*, being of the Family of Aaron. Very agreeable. His Learning rather general than profound." (Vol. I, p. 584.) He refers to Rabbi Samuel Cohen's sermon on the occasion of the Continental fast throughout the twelve Colonies recommended by the general Congress of Philadelphia for July 20, 1775. The Rabbi took as his text Numbers 25, verses 11–12. (Vol. I, p. 591.)

As a further illustration of the things that interested Dr. Stiles, a conversation with Rabbi Samuel is appended.—"R Samuel visited me this Afternoon. We conversed on the

[1] Vol. I, p. 443.

Cherubim & Glory over the Mercy seat—& how to reconcile the erecting of cherubinic Statues in the Holy of Holies & decorating the walls with the Resemblances of Angels, with the Prohibition of the 2^{d} Commandment? We examined the Inscriptions about Mt. Sinai which he never saw nor heard of before. They struck him, he looked on them with close Attention & Wonder—could not tell who inscribed them—only s^{d} repeatedly they are not Jewish. He said there were no Rivers, Brooks or running streams within one Mile of Jerusalem deep eno to swim in, nor even knee deep. Nor was there any of this depth within three Hours Walk of Jerusalem. Where could the 3000 at Pentecost be baptized by Immersion? I asked him whether the Ruins of the Aqueduct on the W. of the City was still remaining? Yes. I asked him where & how far distant was that Fountain or Body of Water which was conveyed formerly in that Aqueduct? I think he said, it was the River 3 Hours distant from Jerusalem—or else the Fountains of the River Gihon which Hezekiah sealed, & turned towds the City 2 Chron. xxxii, 30. He said this Gihon & that of Moses which watered Eden was one & the same."[1]

Decidedly the most interesting of his six rabbinical acquaintances was Isaac Karigal or Carigal as Stiles generally spells the name.[2] He first met him at the Synagogue at Newport on the occasion of the Purim eve service, March 8, 1773. The entry reads as follows:

"March 8, 1773. This Evening I went to the Synagogue it being the Eve of Purim. The Chuzan read thro' the Book of Esther. There I saw Rabbi Carigal I judge aet. 45. lately from the City of Hebron, the Cave of Macpelah in the Holy Land. He was one of the two persons that stood by the Chuzan at the Taubauh or reading Desk while the Book of Esther was read. He was dressed in a red Garment with

[1] Vol. I, p. 594.

[2] In the publication of Karigal's sermon referred to below the name is given as Haym Isaac Karigel.

the usual Phylacteries and habiliments, the white silk Surplice; he wore a high brown furr Cap, had a long Beard. He has the appearence of an ingenious & sensible Man.[1]"

Karigal remained at Newport only a few months sailing for Barbadoes, in July, 1773, so that the statement in Jost's Geschichte d. Israeliten [2] which makes Karigal Rabbi of the Newport Synagogue requires correction. During these four months, however, Stiles saw a great deal of Karigal, both receiving and returning his visits which were devoted generally, as in the case of the other rabbis, to theological discussions. In addition, however, he also had a personal interest in Karigal and includes in this Diary a sketch of the latter's rather picturesque career.

Memoir of R. Isaac Karigal.

"A. D. 1733, Oct. 15 or Tisri 15 A. M. 5493 born at Hebron; & studied under R. David Malamed, R. Meir Gedalia, R. Mordecai Zabi, R. Haijm Jehuda Gomez Pato, R. Haijm Rechamim Bajaiú Brother of Mordecai, and R. Isaac Zedeka; the three first dead, the others now living.

"1750, Aetat. 17, created and entituled Hocham & Rabbi by the above Rabbins at Hebron. The Honor pronounced and declared by R. David Malamed. Read half the Talmud. Began to preach. Some created at reading a quarter of the Talmud.

"1754. Aet. 20½ began his Travels. Went first to Egypt, visited Damiata, Alexandria, & Cairo 2 or 3 months;—thence by Water to Smyrna, resided there 2 or 3 months;—thence to Constantinople, resided there two years;—thence by Land to Adrianople and Salonica and by Water again to Smyrna, about 3 months;—from Smyrna by Land in a Caravan thro' the lesser Asia by 'Cogni, and Aleppo to Damascus;—from Damascus to Aleppo again, thence across Euphrates to Ur of

[1] Vol. I, p. 354.

[2] Quoted by Kohut in his note on *Early Jewish Literature in America. Pub.* No. 3, p. 143.

Chaldees, Bagdat and Ispahan, which terminated his oriental Travels; From Ispahan back to Aleppo.

"1757. Embarking on board ship at *Scandarone* he arrived at Leghorn in Italy Oct° 1757. Spent two years in travelling Europe From Leghorn he went to Florence, *Rome*, Bologna, Milan, Padua, Venice, (twice), Vienna, Prague Nuremberg, Ausburg, Frankfort, Mentz, Holland and London.

"1761. He came to Curacoa in America & tarried there two years, taking care of the Synagogue in room of one gone to Holland to finish his Studies and be made a Rabbi; upon whose Return R. Isaac went about.

"1764. From Curacoa for Amsterdam—& thence over Land to Frankfort, Nuremberg, Ausburge, to Leghorn. At Leghorn took ship for the holy Land, landed at Joffa or Joppa, thence rode to Jerusalem in one day, and in half a day more the next day to Hebron (in Aug., 1764)—*arriving at Hebron* 21 *Days after he sailed from Leghorn.* He has a Wife, a Son and a Daughter at Hebron. He tarried at Hebron almost four years; and then

"1768. Shipt at Joppa and landed at Marseilles;—thence by Land through France, resided at Paris 4 months; thence to England. He resided in London 2½ years, and taught the scholars in the Bit Madrash there, receiving an annual Salary of £100 sterling. There was but one Rabbi in Office in London R. *Moses Cohen Azavado* now living: R. Nieto was indeed living then, but Emeritus or out of Office.

"1771. From London R. Isaac came a second Time to America and went to Jamaica where he staid one year, and remitted thence Via London and Leghorn 1000 Dollars to his Wife in Hebron.

"1772. He came from Jamaica in the Summer of 1772 to Philadelphia where he staid one month; and came to N. York where he staid 5½ months; and arrived at Newport March 3, 1773. He goes from hence to Surinam.

(Died in Barbadoes 1778 circa. Ex. Ore Rabbi."[1])

[1] Entry of July 7, 1773. Vol. I, pp. 395–6.

After Karigal's departure Stiles corresponded with him to as late a date as Nov. 3, 1775. Among the unpublished papers at Newport there are drafts of Stiles' letters written in Hebrew to Karigal together with the replies of the latter. From these memoranda it appears that Karigal was one of those incessant wanderers representing a type not infrequently met with even in the present time. How he supported himself during his travels we are left to conjecture, but presumably from contributions furnished by his benevolent coreligionists.

The description given of Rabbi Isaac's dress at the Passover service April 8th, 1773, is rather startling.

"This day is Passover with the Jews. I went to the Synagogue. The Chocam Rabbi was there; he was one called up to the Reading of the Law—but I observed that he *did not read his own portion* of the Law—which I wondered at; however he audibly apronounced the short prayer instead of the Huzzan before reading his part, and after the Huzzan had read the portion, the Rabbi alone and without the Chuzan lift up his voice and pronounced the Blessing. This is repeated by the Chuzan usually for every one of the 7 persons–but this part the Rabbi did for himself; and he performed no other part of the Service as distinct from the Congregation.

"The Rabbi's Dress of Aparrel: Common English Shoes, black Leather, Silver flowered Buckles, White Stockings. His general Habit was Turkish. A *green Silk Vest* or long under Garment reaching down more than half way the Legs or within 3 Inches of the Ankles; the ends of the Sleeves of this Vest appeared on the Wrists in a foliage Turn-up of 3 inches, & the Opening little larger than that the hand might pass freely. A Girdle or Sash of different Colors red and green girt the Vest around his Body. It appeared not to be open at bottom but to come down like a petticoat; and no Breeches could be discovered. This Vest however had an opening above the Girdle-and here he put in

his *Handkerchief*, and *Snuff-box*, and *Watch*. Under this was an inner Vest of Calico besides other Jewish Talismans. Upon the vest first mentioned was a *scarlet outer Garment* of Cloth, one side of it was Blue, the *outside scarlet;* it reached down about an Inch lower than the Vest, or near the Ankles: It was open before, no range of Buttons &c along the Edge, but like a Scholars Gown in the Body but plain and without many gatherings at the Neck, the sleeves strait or narrow and slit open 4 or 5 Inches at the End, and turned up with a *blue silk Quarter Cuff*, higher up than the End of the sleeve of the Vest. When he came into the Synagogue he put over all, the usual *Alb* or white *Surplice*, which was like that of other Jews, except that its Edge was striped with *Blue straiks*, and had *more Fringe*. He had a White Cravat round his Neck. He had a long black beard, the upper Lip partly shaven–his Head shaved all over. On his head a high Fur (Sable) Cap, exactly like a Womans Muff, and about 9 or 10 Inches high, the Aperture atop was closed with green cloth. He behaved modestly and reverently. Some part of the Singing in the Synagogue this day was exceeding fine & melodious."[1]

Stiles was present at the Pentacostal services May 28, 1773, and heard Karigal preach a sermon in Spanish, which was subsequently published in English translation by Abraham Lopez at Newport and of which the Society possesses a copy.[2] The sermon is interesting as being the first publication of a sermon preached in an American Synagogue. Among Karigal's audience were Gov. Wanton, Judge Oliver and Judge Auchmuty, who sat with the President of the Congregation. (Vol. I, p. 377; cf. p. 375.) The sermon which was liberally interspersed with Hebrew lasted 47 minutes and it would appear from the entry of June 8, 1773, that Rabbi Isaac had at first objected to its publication.

[1] April 8, 1773. Vol. I, pp. 362–363.

[2] Presented by Mr. Mendes Cohen for *Pub.* No. 1, p. 123. See Kohut's *Early Jewish Literature in America*, No. 3, p. 123.

"Jun 7/73. Last Monday just before I set out on my Journey I received a Letter in Hebrew from Rabbi Isaac Karigal, in answer to mine. Today I sent a Note to him, and this afternoon he made me a Visit accompanied with Mr. Lopez. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. We had much Conversation upon the Antiquity of the Hebrew Letters. . . . We went to the Redwood Library. He admired the Writings of *Selden*.

"The Rabbi told me that he had nothing written when he preached at the Synagogue—but that he had *sealed* it first in his head and so delivered it—that he was able to recollect it and to gratify the Jews here he should write it in Spanish, and they would translate it into English, and then he would give me a Copy. But he would not consent that it should be printed. He said that none but Rabbies preached, and they usually preached on all the Holidays, but not every Sabbath, & always without notes."[1]

On June 27, 1773 Karigal attended a service in Dr. Stiles' church at which the latter preached a sermon evidently prepared for the Rabbi's benefit.[2] As specimens of the conversations between Stiles and Carigal illustrating at the same time the limitations in the learning of both parties, the following six entries will suffice.

"March 30/73. This afternoon the Rabbi came to visit me in Company with Mr. Lopez. The Rabbi is aet. 39, a large Man, neat and well dressed in Turkish Habit. We conversed largely on the Gemara, the 2 Talmuds (of which he preferred the Babylonish) the Changes of the Hebrew Language in different Ages &c &c. He was born in Hebron where he says are only 107 Families of Jews. From aet. 7, has followed his Studies. He says, one may breakfast at Hebron and dine at Jerusalem, which are but six hour apart. He

[1] Vol. I, pp. 328, 392–393. An account of the sermon, together with a description of the service and remarks about the pronunciation of Hebrew will be found in vol. I, pp. 376–377.

[2] See an abstract, vol. I, pp. 391–392.

has been at Samaria, Tiberias, and thro' the Holy Land, at Constantinople &c. &c. He spake of Aly Bey, and shewed me a passage in the *Zohar* which he said predicted that the *Russians should conquer the Turks.* I observed that in the Original it was that *Edom* should conquer the *Ismaelites*—he replied that Edom there denoted a Northern Power and the Ismaelites those of their Religion. He said he did not understand *Arabic* to read it, upon my showing an Arabic Extract from Eutychius. Yet he said it was the common Tongue now in the holy Land, only the Jews were not allowed to learn the Writings. I shewed him the first Psalm in Arabic but in Hebrew Letters—he read it off freely—and I suppose I then for the first Time heard the true pronunciation of Arabic. He did not perfectly understand it. He said the vernacular Arabic now was different from the antient. We talked upon the difference of the Dialects of the Chaldee, Syriac, and rabbinical Hebrew, on the Targums &c. Evening coming on he took Leave in a polite & friendly manner."[1]

"June 14/73. . . . In the Forenoon I went to visit the Rabbi—discoursed on Ventriloquism & the Witch of Endor & the Reality of bringing up Samuel. He had not heard of Ventriloquism before & still doubted it. He shewed me a Hebrew Letter from Isaac Pinto a Jew in N. York, in which Mr. Pinto who is now reading Aben Ezra desires R. Carigal's Tho'ts upon some Arabic in Aben Ezra. But the Rabbi says he supposes Aben Ezra wrote in the Coran Arabic which he doth not understand. The Rabbi . . . is extremely fond of persuad[g] himself that there has been no change in the Pentateuch since Moses left it; and shewed me a passage of St. *Austin* de Civitate Dei in a Hebrew Book of *David Nieto;* it was rendered into Hebrew to this Effect, that there was an Impossibility that the Jews shd. have corrupted their holy Books, since in all Dispersions they were found the same. He was much pleased that he was able to

[1] Vol. I, p. 357.

shew me something out of our Fathers for my Extracts out of his Rabbins. I turned him to the strong Expression in his Letter 'your Love has made such an indelible impression upon the inmost Tho'ts. & Affections of my Heart that Volumes of Book are not sufficient to write the thousandth part of the eternal Love wherewith I love thee'—and asked him how he could use so strong an Expression of Friendship? He in reply said he wished well to others besides his own nation, he loved all Mankind, & turned me to Levit. xix, 18,—*thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself.*"[1]

"April 23/73. I visited the Rabbi. He shewed me the form of the Candlesticks of Moses and Zechariah. We discoursed on many Things.

". . . I asked him whether Moses wrote all the Pentateuch, particularly the account of his own death? & also Gen. 36, 31?—he answered yes: that he wrote of Things future as present, so Isaiah wrote of Cyrus. I asked him whether by the usual Intercalation, the *hebrew Chronology* was perfect—the Jewish year exactly solar?—yes. How long their Chronology had been reduced to perfection, & whether antiently there were no Errors or Deviations from Solar Time? He said, *it was perfect from the Beginning*, the principles of it were laid down in the six Days Creation, & had been delivered down from the earliest Antiquity. I wanted more closely to attend to this Matter, as he spake with the deliberate Confidence of Demonstration—and he is a Man of great Modesty & Candor, & most remote from a disposition

[1] Vol. I, pp. 386–388. Regarding Isaac Pinto who was the editor of the first English version of the Jewish prayerbook published in America (New York, 1766), see Kohut, *Pub.* No. 3, pp. 118–121; Phillips, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 49. He died January 17, 1791, in New York. As late as April 14, 1790, Stiles refers to a letter received from Pinto whom he speaks of as "a learned Jew at New York" regarding a puzzling Hebrew inscription found by Stiles at Kent in the fall of 1789. Unfortunately there is no other reference to this supposed Hebrew inscription on which Pinto was unable to throw any light (vol. III, p. 392).

to obtrude his own Assertions without being ready to open the Reasons. But we had not Time.[1]"

"July 15/73. Spent the Afternoon with the Rabbi, partly at the Redwood Library and partly at my House. I asked him whether the Rabbins of this Age thought themselves to have any particular Reasons for expecting the Messiah immediately? He said not; but he thought it was high Time for him to come; He added, that if all Nations were in War and universal Tumult and Confusion, then he should expect him immediately, but this not being more the Case now than in every current Age, &c. . . The Rabbi has the Zohar in 3 vol. 4to printed at Constantinople.[2]"

Stiles also obtains from Karigal much information regarding the Jews in other lands, the most interesting references of this kind being the following two, one bearing on the number of synagogues and Jewish population in Palestine, the other referring to the Jews in Jamaica, Surinam and Curaçao.

"July 16/73. Comparing my Zohar with the Rabbi's. In company with the Rabbi. He told me he rode over the River Jordan on Horse-back against *Jericho* which was near the River: he said it was a very shallow River and almost dry in Summer. He had been at all the twelve or 13 Synagogues in the holy Land, and gave me the following account which I wrote from his Mouth.

One Thousand Familles Jews in all Judea or Holy Land A. D. 1773

5 Synagogues at Jerusalem, large
2 at Saphat large
1 at Tiberias small
1 at Hebron large 107 Families
1 at Gaza large
1 at Shechem small
1 at Acco—large
—
12 and 1 at Jaffa only a Chamber for Worship occasionally, but not every Sabbath.

2 at Damascus
1 at Sidon
1 at Alleppo large
Only 12 *Synagoges* in the Holy Land.

[1] Vol. I, p. 368.

[2] Vol. I, p. 398.

"He said there were more Synagogues in Syria than Palestine."[1]

"June 28, 1773. This afternoon the Rabbi visited me. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. He told me that there was one Rabbi at the Synagogue in *Jamaica*, another at *Surinam*, and a third at *Eustatia* or Curacoa. Thus there there are now *three Rabbies* settled in America. There are none on the Continent of No. America. The Rabbi has a prospect of settling in the Synagogue in Antigua, and this will make a fourth in America. Isaac Carigal says he was made a Rabbi when he was about 19 or twenty years old. He said the Ceremony of Imposition of Hands was not used in these Days—that after an Examination and Approbation by other Rabbies they gave him a written Certificate in which he was declared a Rabbi. He wants now 3 or 4 months of being fourty years old, so was born A. D. 1733, and was made a Rabbi about A. D. 1753. He began to travel *aet.* 20, and has visited Damascus, Alleppo, Grand Cairo, Bagdat, Ispahan, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Paris, London, &c. Of all Cities he gives the preference to Venice and London."[2]

On July 19th Stiles pays a farewell visit to Karigal and on that occasion[3] engages in a discussion of the question whether there would be any marrying at the time of Resurrection. Mr. and Mrs. Rivera were present and since Mr. Rivera was her second husband, Mrs. Rivera was naturally interested to know which of her husbands would be allotted to her. The Rivera referred to is Jacob Rodriguez Rivera (see Kohler, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 101). With many assurances of mutual good will, Stiles and Karigal take leave of each other.

From Newport Karigal went to Barbadoes. A letter from

[1] Vol. I, p. 398. Karigal also gives Stiles some information about the Samaritans. *Ib.*

[2] Vol. I, pp. 392–393.

[3] Vol. I, pp. 399–400.

him to Stiles dated Surinam, September 19, 1773 (vol. I, p. 426) stated that he was 49 days in his passage. After 1775 we lose track of Karigal and the only other reference in the Diary is to a portrait of Karigal which is enumerated among the pictures in possession of Yale College.[1] This portrait which was given by Karigal to Dr. Stiles passed into the possession of the family after Dr. Stiles' death and is now owned by Dr. J. L. Jenkins of Jamaica Plain, Boston, to whose kindness the Society owes the reproduction that accompanies this paper. Mr. Jenkins furnishes the following details about the history of the picture.

"The portrait of the Rabbi came at President Stiles' death to his daughter Emilia, (Mrs. Jonathan Leavitt of Greenfield, Mass.) my maternal Grandmother. At her death it came to my Aunt Miss Mary Leavitt, who died at the homestead in Greenfield at an advanced age and who gave the portrait to me. From the time of President Stiles's death the picture hung in the old house in Greenfield. It is not known who painted it. In 1880 I had the picture restored by Williams and Everret in Boston. Then I discovered for the first time that the robe the Rabbi wears is a deep red—not blackish brown as the dirt of a century made it appear. The worn out canvas was picked out thread by thread and the pigment transferred to a new canvas. The picture was given by the Rabbi to President Stiles—then a minister in Newport, R. I. It was supposed to have been painted in Europe."

IV.

It will be appropriate to close this paper with a few miscellaneous references of interest to be found in this many-

[1] Vol. III, p. 94. Dr. Stiles also refers to a picture of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel which he obtained from Mr. Isaac Mark, a learned Jew (vol. I, p. 620). He adds that "R. Judah Monis, the Hebrew Professor at Harvard," made much use of Menasseh ben Israel's writings and "taught them as a classical book." For other notices about Monis, see vol. I, pp. 10 and 423.

sided diary. There is an interesting entry in Stiles "Itinerary," September 13, 1772, which enables us to fix the date of the first settlement of Jews in New Haven.

"The Summer past a Family of Jews settled here, the first real Jews (except two Jew Brothers Pintos who renounced Judaism & all Religion) that settled in N. Haven. They came from *Venice*, sat down some little Time at Eustatia in W. Indies, & lately removed here. They are three Brothers (Adults) with an aged Mother, and a Widow & her Children, being in all about 10 or 8 Souls Jews, with six or 8 Negroes. Last Saturday they kept holy; Dr. Hubbard was sent for then to see one of them sick:—he told me the Family were worship[g] by themselves in a Room in which were Lights & a suspended Lamp. This is the first Jewish Worship in New Haven . . . These Jews indeed worship in the Jewish Manner; but they are not eno' to constitute & become a Synagogue, for which there must be 12 Men at least. So that if there shd. hereafter be a Synagogue in N. H. it must not be dated from this."[1]

In view of the doubt still existing as to the precise date of the beginning of the congregation Mickvé Israel in Philadelphia the following note is of some importance.

"July 18, 1771. . . . M[r] Tauro the Jew priest or Chuzan in this Town tells me there are about a Dozen Jew Families in Philadelphia, and that they are opening a Synagogue there. He is lately from New York, but did not see the York Chuzan because he was gone to Philad[a] upon that affair. I suppose therefore that he has gone to form them & begin the Synag. Worship there. They have no Edifices as yet. But I conclude this may date the Beginning of the Synag. Worship in Philad[a]."[2]

It appears from this that while the congregation itself did not organize till March, 1782,[3] informal gatherings for religious purposes took place at a much earlier date. Stiles

[1] Vol. I, p. 283. [2] Vol. I, p. 124.

[3] Sabato Morais *Pub.* No. 1, p. 13.

also takes occasion to note that from December 25, 1787, to December 25, 1788, there were five births and two deaths among Jews in Philadelphia.[1]

January 18, 1782,[2] he speaks of visiting an aged Jew, Mr. Simpson (aetas 86) at Wilton[3] a refugee from New York. Stiles was interested in the Hebrew manuscript Bible which Simpson had and which he claimed to be 1200 years. On July 23 the son of Mr. Simpson brought him the manuscript which was in quarto and written on parchment and which appears indeed to have been a very fine specimen.[4]

Such are in the main the references in Stiles' Diary referring to Jews on various topics. His deep interest in Jewish and rabbinical literature has been already referred to and it is characteristic of his untiring intellectual activity that he did not shrink from the difficult task of reading Jewish philosophers, commentators and even Jewish cabbalists in the original. As late as March 1, 1795, within about two months therefore of his death he was reading David Levy's "the Ceremonies and Rites of the Jewish Nation" and has this to say about it.

"March 1, 1795. . . . Readg Levy's address to the Jews 1788, an octavo Vol. in English, but I think written by a Jew converted to Xty & a roman Catholic. It is a confused & indigested Composition in ungrammatical English, but seems to be written by an honest & sincere & zealous Man—with much Translation of Scripture & in some passages esp^{y} of the O. T. with Critical Lights & Illustr^{a} of the Hebrew Prophecies as applied to J. Christ."[5]

A description that he gives of the back ground that he had chosen for his portrait painted by Mr. King illustrates again his broad learning and manifold interests.[6]

[1] Vol. III, p. 342.
[2] Vol. III, p. 3.
[3] Ib. p. 32 he says "Norwalk."
[4] See the detailed description, *ib.*
[5] Vol. III, p. 556.
[6] Reproduced as the frontispiece to vol. I, of the Diary.

"Aug. 1st 1771. This day Mr King finished my Picture. He began it last year- but went over the face again now, & added Emblems &c. The piece is made up thus. The Effigies sitting in a Green Elbow Chair, in a Teaching Attitude, with the right hand on the Breast, and the Left holding a preaching Bible. Behind & on his left side is a part of a Library—two Shelves of Books—a Folio shelf with *Eusebij Hist. Ecc.*, Livy, Du Halde's Histy of China, and one inscribed Talmud B., Aben Ezra, Rabbi Selomoh Jarchi in hebrew Letters, and a little below R. Moses Ben Maimon Moreh Nevochim.

"By these I denote my Taste for History, especially of the Roman Empire, & of the Chh in the 3 first Centuries & at the Reformation—the State of China as containg a systematical View of an ancient pple for 4000 years, being one Third or more of the human Race & different from all the rest of the Orientals—the Rabbin. Learng party in the two most eminent Periods of it; the first before & at the Time of Christ containg the Decisions of the house of R. Eleazar at Babylon, and those of the Houses Hillel & Shammai at Jerusalem; the second period was at the Revival of the Hebrew Learning in the XIth & Twelfth Centuries, when arose those Lights of the Captivity, Jarchi, Maimonides, &c."[1]

That as a Christian theologian of the 18th Century he was imbued with the desire and the hope to convert the Jews is hardly astonishing[2] and while this hope is no doubt an im-

[1] Vol. I, p. 131.

[2] Vol. I, p. 61, (Aug. 4, 1770), there is a reference to a "young Jewess," Miss Pollock, who probably became a convert to christianity, and some time later he receives a visit from a young man—also a Jew—who was courting Miss Pollock and was likewise attracted towards christianity (vol. I, p. 91, Feb. 16, 1771). Again (vol. I, p. 151, Sept. 5, 1771) he hears of a Mr. Hayes, of Phila., who had lately become a convert, tho' the report was denied by his brother who lived at Newport. He also states that the mother of Mr. Hays, at the time that the family lived in New York, "once became a Xtian but afterwards renounced Xtianity for Judaism."

portant factor in his interest in Jews, controlling in large measure his devotion to their literature, it will have become evident from the extracts furnished from the Diary that his humanitarian instincts were not choked by his theological zeal.

See for further references to the subject of conversion, *ib.*, pp. 214 and 423 and vol. III, p. 262, where there is a reference to a Rev. Heidek, a converted "Jew Rabbi," who proposed to convert the Cherokees to Christianity "having a Belief that the Amer Indians are the Ten Tribes of the Hebrews." This, by the way, is the only reference to the "Ten tribe" theory in the Diary. Judging from extracts from letters of Stiles, published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, pp. 122–123), he did not countenance the view which connected the American Indians with the lost tribes but took the more sensible (though equally erroneous) view which sought for them in the extreme East—in China or East India. See also Holmes' *Life of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 325–331.

A METHOD OF DETERMINING THE JEWISH POPULATION OF LARGE CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.[1]

By George E. Barnett, Ph. D., *Johns Hopkins University.*

The determination of population is the first desideratum in any scientific study of a people or race. For the correct solution of many social problems, it is an indispensable requisite that the number of persons should be carefully reckoned. In several of the countries of Continental Europe, the periodic censuses enumerate the inhabitants according to the religious creed which they profess, and in those countries the Jewish population can be exactly ascertained by reference to the census figures. The absolute separation of Church and State, enjoined by the Constitution has prevented the collection of such statistics in the United States. No question with regard to religious affiliation is ever asked at an American census. The determination of the Jewish population must, therefore, be sought in other ways.

Various attempts to supply this deficiency have been made. In No. 6 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (pp. 140-149), Mr. David Sulzberger gave an account of the various estimates of the Jewish population of

[1] This paper had its origin in an attempt made by the Editor of the *Jewish Year Book*, Dr. Cyrus Adler, to secure estimates of the Jewish population in the United States. In reply to a letter of inquiry with regard to the number of Jews in Alleghany Country, Md., Rev. J. L. Stern, minister of the Jewish congregation at Cumberland, besides giving the figures desired, suggested that the number of Jews might be ascertained for the larger cities from the number of burials in Jewish cemetries. At Dr. Adler's request, the present writer began a study of the question. Valuable assistance has been received from Miss Henrietta Szold, Secretary of the Jewish Publication Society.

the United States, which have been made from time to time and added to them a calculation of his own, for the year 1897. The method followed in all these investigations has been to ask supposedly well informed persons for an opinion as to the number of Jews living in a certain place. Approximately correct results may be obtained in this way for smaller places where the number of Jews is not large, and may be ascertained by an actual count. In a city of 50,000 inhabitants, having several hundred Jewish residents it is entirely possible for such a count to be made. But the larger the place, the more difficult it becomes to make a direct enumeration, and the Jew is a city dweller, probably four-fifths of the Jews of the United States living in cities of upwards of 100,000 population. It is evident, therefore, that very few of the estimates made rest on direct enumerations.

The persons giving estimates as to the number of Jews in cities like New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore reach their conclusions otherwise than by counting. They know, for example, how many Russians and Poles are given by the census as residents of the community, or the number of Jewish communicants of the congregations, or some other fact which is supposed to be an indication of the total number of Jewish inhabitants. In all such cases, there are two parts in the process of making the estimate. Firstly, there is the ascertainment of a fact and secondly the assumption of a relation between that fact and the population. Every estimate must be made in this way and the best estimate will be that for which both the fact and the relation are most accurately ascertained. For example, the number of religious communicants might be used as the basis of the computation. Here, we may take it, the fact could be ascertained. According to the census of 1890, there were in the United States 130,000 members of Jewish congregations. But what relation can be assumed between that fact and the Jewish population? Is there one communicant for every five inhabitants or one for

every ten? Even if a proportion could be established between communicants and population for the country as a whole, there are differences in the relative number of churched and unchurched in different cities which would render the distribution of the population very inexact. Or again, if the number of births be taken as the criterion, while the relation existing between births and population might be inferred from the statistical data for other countries, there is no accurate registration of births in the American cities. In this case, the fact itself is impossible of ascertainment.

Not to examine in detail all the criteria which might be used for the calculation of a population, it may be said that there appears to be only one which affords a reasonable prospect of successful use in estimating the Jewish population of large cities in the United States—viz., the number of Jews dying in a given place within a given time. In practically all the larger cities in this country there are efficient systems of death-registration. With regard to every person dying certain facts are recorded in the books of the Health Department of each city. While the data thus registered vary in different cities, they include usually the following: (a) name, (b) sex, (c) age, (d) occupation, (e) cause of death, (f) nationality, (g) nationality of father and mother, (h) cemetery, (i) name of undertaker, (j) name of physician, (k) residence. By the examination of these records, it is possible to ascertain the number of Jewish decedents. The Jews are almost always buried in Jewish cemeteries. While the burial place forms an almost exact test for the segregation of the Jewish dead, it can be supplemented by an examination of all the other recorded facts, and the few cases where Jews are buried in non-Jewish cemeteries can be detected. So far, then, as the exact ascertainment of the fact is concerned, the number of deaths is a criterion of high exactness.

A much more difficult problem remains—the determination of the relation which the number of deaths bears to the

population. In other words, what is the death rate of Jews in the large cities? It might be assumed that the mortality of Jews is the same as that of the remaining inhabitants. Thus, the total number of deaths in New York City for the year 1899 was 70,229, and the population numbered 3,437,202; consequently the death rate was 20.4 per thousand of living. The number of deaths among Jewish inhabitants was 6,600.[1] If the mortality of Jews is taken as equal to the general mortality of the city, the Jewish population may be roughly estimated as containing 330,000 souls. This method has been used in computing the number of Jews in London. In an article in Booth's *Life and Labour of the People*, Mr. Llewelyn Smith says: "High authorities consider the burial figures the best statistical basis for a calculation of the number of Jews in East London."[2]

There is reason, however, to believe that the Jewish death rate differs materially from the general death rate in our large cities. The death rates of different countries vary widely. Thirty-three per thousand of the inhabitants of European Russia die annually, while the death rate of Norway is only seventeen. Racial characteristics, economic conditions, and age grouping exercise powerful influences on the mortality of a people. It would, therefore, be hazardous to assert that the Jewish mortality is similar to that of the community as a whole.

In the first place, it is quite certain that the Jewish race, other things being equal, has a lower death rate than the people among whom they live. A long line of observations, extending over 50 years, gives this statement almost the value of a demonstration. Space is lacking for a detailed

[1] The Secretary of the Board of Health of New York City, Mr. Goldemann, has kindly furnished me with the number of burials in Jewish cemeteries for the years 1898, 1899, 1900. The statement made above is based on this information.

[2] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. III, p. 104.

study of all the statistical data bearing on this point, which have been collected in many countries, but the matter has been summed up in a recent work by the distinguished statistician Georg von Mayr. "There is no doubt," he says, "that the mortality in childhood is less among Jews and along with this there goes a smaller general death rate."[1] The independent studies of Körösi amply confirm this conclusion. If the age grouping and economic conditions of Jews and their neighbors are similar, the Jewish mortality will be the lower on account of racial longevity.

The age configuration has a considerable influence on the death rate. If there is a relatively greater number of very young or very old people the death rate will be considerably heightened since the mortality of children and of old persons is much higher than that of middle-aged persons. Among immigrants there are few infants and old people. The new comers are of selected ages, the majority being between twenty and fifty years of age, and their favorable age grouping tends to give them a low death rate. On the other hand, the economic condition of the newly arrived settlers is usually of a character highly unfavorable to a low mortality. The new arrivals, especially if coming in large numbers and without industrial skill, find it difficult to secure a foothold in the labor market. They must live in crowded quarters and work under unsanitary conditions. The influence of a favorable age grouping on the death rate may be partially or entirely offset by the effect of inferior economic position.

The Jewish population of large cities falls into two fairly well defined classes. Between the Jews of Portuguese and German descent—the longer settled class, and the new immigrants of Russian and Polish origin, there is a sharp differentiation, both in economic condition and in age configuration. The more rapid an immigration and the more recent it is, the more abnormally large will be its proportion of middle-aged persons and the more likely that it will live

[1] Von Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaft*, Band II, Seite 303.

amid unsanitary surroundings. According to the census of 1880, there were in New York City 4000 persons whose fathers or mothers were born in Russia; in 1890, there were 67,000, and in 1900 the number was over 200,000.[1] There is no need to say that this has been an unusually rapid migration. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the age grouping to become normal by the natural increase of children and old people. The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1900 classifies the Hebrews arriving in the year ending June 30, 1900, as follows: Under 14 years of age, 13,092; 14 to 45, 44,234; over 45, 3,435. While emigration of German Jews has continued since 1880, compared with the number of Russian and Polish Jews it has been insignificant. There is, as is well known, a wide difference in the economic conditions under which the two classes live.

Clearly, if a separation of the recorded deaths can be made, so that the number of deaths in each class can be known and a death rate determined for each, a much closer calculation may be made of the total population and in addition the number in each class may be ascertained, a piece of knowlege as valuable as the computation of the whole population. There are several tests which can be applied for determining the class to which a decedent belongs. Here again the cemetery is an index. In the larger cities, the newer immigrants have separate burial places, so that in many cases it may be thus known whether the decedent is of the older or newer stock. The nationality of the person, and the nativity of parents are also helpful in making the division. Especially for an enumerator who has a considerable fund of information as to local conditions, all these facts taken together form in nearly all cases a sufficient basis for an accurate classification.

[1] The full figures for nativity of persons are not yet accessible, but there were 155,000 persons in New York City in 1900 who were born in Russia.

The other part of the problem then recurs—what is the relation existing between the number of deaths in each class and the corresponding population? Fortunately we have some data which enable us to obtain an approximate solution. An investigation made under the direction of Dr. J. S. Billings for the census of 1890 is helpful in throwing light on the death rate of the longer settled class of Jews. Statistics were collected for 10,618 families.[1] Only about 600 of the heads of families had been in the country less than ten years. The results, therefore, applied only to Jews of the older immigration. For the Jews included in the investigation a death rate of ten per thousand was found. There are two reasons for thinking that this is too low a rate even for the older stock of Jews. The returns were from a very well-to-do class. Only one third of the families kept no servants. While the economic condition of the Jews of German descent is undoubtedly high, there is a strong probability that the returns were made by the more intelligent and prosperous families. This is nearly always the case in such investigations. Also the age grouping was somewhat abnormal. This was due to the fact that the influence of immigration had not been overcome, and partly to the fact that the Jewish age grouping is probably different from that of the remaining population even after long settlement. It is likely, however, that if the same investigation were repeated in 1900, there would be shown a larger percentage of children and old people. Weighing these two factors, we can assert with confidence that the death rate of the Jews longer resident in this country would be somewhat higher than 12 and somewhat lower than 16 per mille. Placing it at 14 we should have a possible error of about fifteen per cent. Further light would be thrown on the matter by a tabulation of the ages of decedents as recorded in the records of the various health offices.

[1] "Vital Statistics of the Jews of the United States," *Bulletin No.* 19, *Eleventh Census.*

There is available a still more accurate method of ascertaining the mortality among the more recent immigrants. The greater part of the influx since 1882 has been of Russians. The census distributes the number of persons in each large city according to the nativity of parents. The health records classify decedents in the same way in some of the larger cities. By joining the two facts the death rate for persons of Russian parentage is found. Before the assumption can be made that this represents the mortality of the newer immigration, three considerations must be examined—Firstly, there seems no reason to believe that the other elements composing the influx since 1882 vary widely from the Russians in age grouping or in economic condition. The Russians are the largest and the typical class. Secondly, since the immigration is so recent practically all Russians and their descendants are included in the rubric "white persons having fathers or mothers born in Russia." If any large class of the descendants of Russian Jews were the children of parents born in this country, the conclusions might be seriously modified since such persons would be very young and have a high death rate. Thirdly, there does not seem any likelihood that any considerable number of non-Jews are included as Russians. This can be determined exactly by a study of the records, but it is improbable on *á priori* grounds that there are many persons of Russian nativity other than Jews in the large cities. According to the census of 1880, the greater part of the Russians living in this country were in agricultural states and presumably engaged in agricultural pursuits. If there has been any large migration of non-Jews from Russia since that time, they have probably followed their compatriots. The large immigration from Russian Poland is not a disturbing factor since the Christian Poles do not class themselves as Russians but as Poles, and both the census and the health offices follow this classification. There is evidence also from the reports of the Commissioner of Immigration that the Russion emi-

gration has consisted almost entirely of Jews. Thus for the year ending June 30, 1900, there came from Russia, 37,000 Hebrews and only 1165 other Russians.

The modes of reaching the death rate, described above, for the older settlers and the newer arrivals are based on data which it will be impossible to duplicate in a few years. The investigation of Dr. Billings is not likely to be repeated and it will not be true ten years hence that all Jews of Russian descent are contained in the category of "Persons having fathers and mothers born in Russia." In fact, it is impossible to see on what basis a few years from now the Jewish death rate can be computed even approximately.

It is to be noted also that the method described in this paper is applicable only to about fifty large cities in the United States. For a complete enumeration of the Jewish population it would be necessary to make in addition a systematic and thorough inquiry by correspondence as to the number of persons living in the smaller cities and towns.

It remains only to point out the fact that the records of decedents contain much information which if properly correlated would add much to our knowledge of the social structure of the Jewish population in America. Rough but serviceable indications might be obtained of the numbers engaged in various occupations. Data bearing on the mooted question of the comparative immunity of the Jew from certain forms of disease could be accumulated on a scale larger than has heretofore been possible.

NOTE.—A count of Jewish decedents has been made for Baltimore for the years 1899, 1900, and 1901. It is expected that a detailed presentation of the data thus obtained together with an estimate of the Jewish population of the city will be made in the American Jewish Year Book for the year 1902. Statements made in the foregoing article as to the possibility of ascertaining the number of Jewish deaths and of separating them into classes are based on the results of that enumeration.

JEWISH ACTIVITY IN AMERICAN COLONIAL COMMERCE.[1]

By Max J. Kohler, A. M., *New York City.*

In writing in the year 1712 on the subject of the Jews, in the course of one of the *Spectator* essays, Joseph Addison declared:

"They are, indeed, so disseminated through all of the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which, though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together."

This passage is remarkable, not merely for the elegance and grace of the diction, and the liberality and freedom from prejudice thus early displayed, but for its historical significance. Addison was not merely well acquainted with many Jews living in far distant places, but his relations to the British State Department, in its colonial branches, gave him an insight into international trade relations of the day, second to that of none of his contemporaries.[2] International trade was then in its infancy, and Addison was well able to gauge Jewish activity in it, and could correctly assign such a position to the Jews, true at that time, even though, as applied to our own day, it would possibly be an exaggeration. The fact is that the Jews were the real projectors, pioneers and promoters of international commerce, and their relative com-

[1] Paper originally read before the Society, January 30th, 1896; re-written and presented anew January 30th, 1902.

[2] See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I, Article "Joseph Addison" by the writer.

mercial importance in foreign trade was, naturally, much greater, a few centuries ago, when other races had scarcely begun to be active in such pursuits. It is my purpose, in the present paper, to consider the services of the Jews in our colonial commerce, to generalize upon the foundation of specialized historical investigations made recently along these lines, particularly by workers of the English and American Jewish Historical Societies, and to briefly consider the causes and circumstances of Jewish activity in this traffic.

Let us first, therefore, consider some of the historical and natural forces which made it the "manifest destiny" of the Jew to assume this important role. It is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to consider questions of racial psychology, and to inquire why the Jew, from earliest times on, was peculiarly expert in trade. The Bible bears testimony to his business acumen as well as to his religious mission, and one might infer that he has a commercial, as well as a spiritual, mission in the world. No less distinguished an economist than Prof. Alfred Marshall,[1] has emphasized this innate racial gift, in tersely characterizing the Jewish people as "that wonderful race (that) have been leaders of the world in intensity of religious feeling and in keenness of business speculation." The Jew's peculiar aptitude for international commerce, in its bearings on America, was also ably expressed by the late Judge Charles P. Daly, who particularly emphasized the important elements of Jewish dispersion throughout the world and exclusion from other pursuits. He says:[2]

"Shutting them out from all other vocations and confining them to trade and commerce was to turn their capacity and energies to pursuits for which, as an acute, thrifty and intellectual people, they proved to be particularly adapted. From their cosmopolitan character, they obtained a clearer insight and more enlarged views of what was requisite to promote trade in the intercourse between different countries, and to their comprehensiveness, quickness and

[1] *Principles of Economics*, second ed., vol. I, p. 49.
[2] *History of the Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 88.

sagacity is due to a large degree the discovery of the methods by which trade is facilitated, and commercial transactions carried on at the present day. The devotion of a whole race, widely distributed in different countries, to trade and commerce, especially when modern commerce was in its infancy, brought about results alike favorable to them and to the world. It gave them influence and power, and in the changes which commerce has effected, the intercourse it has promoted, the prejudices it has swept away and the advance in civilization that has followed it—they have played a more important part than has ever been adequately acknowledged."

Mr. Oscar S. Straus, in one of his very suggestive presidential addresses before this Society,[1] indicated somewhat more specifically, some of these Jewish influences upon American commerce. Among other instances, he notes the following:

"The principal trade of our New England colonies was with Barbados, Jamaica, Surinam and Brazil—almost exclusively with those communities where the trade was largely controlled by the Spanish and Portuguese (Jewish) refugees and their descendants. . . . The persecution of the Jews in Spain and Portugal and their dispersion to the four corners of the earth, which presents such a dark picture, had a bright side in its consequences, in that it fostered international commerce; for these refugees in the several countries wherein they settled soon established mercantile correspondence with one another, thereby building up a profitable trade between such countries. Thus, in a measure, is due the trade of the Italian republics with the Levant, and of Holland, England and New England, with Surinam, Barbados, Jamaica and Brazil."

But, leaving these characterizations, let me, even at the risk of being charged with unjustified digressing, refer to the keen, suggestive, and philosophical contributions to this subject made by Dr. J. E. Scherer of Prague, in his profound and scholarly work, just published, entitled *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-oesterreichischen Ländern*, which has thus far received only a small fraction of the attention it merits. Their status and commercial activity in Teutonic lands are suggestively explained, as follows: When

[1] *Pub.* No. 3, p. 1.

the Roman Empire crumbled, two classes of aliens were residing in Germanic lands, each having its own peculiar laws and customs, differing from those of the Germanic tribes, the Romans and the Jews. Under Germanic law, the civil and political rights, law, justice and privileges of the Germanic tribes belonged only to the Germans, and aliens were not entitled to them, but were entitled only to such rights, if any, as the king chose to grant or sell to them. During the Roman occupation this situation had been different, as Rome had recognized and developed the rights of aliens, and, within certain limits, permitted the Jews to maintain their own laws and customs, civil as well as religious. With the loss of Roman control, all this ceased, and the Romans soon gave up their own system of rights, becoming merged with the Teutons through community of belief and interests. The Jews, however, enjoyed only such right, as chattels of the King, as he chose to grant them. Soon the kings discovered that their revenues could be augmented by permitting the Jews to enjoy peculiar and special commercial rights, so that they could assess the resulting property which they accumulated, without restriction, and profit from their commercial prosperity. Meanwhile, under the feudal system, the Germanic inhabitants became obligated to render military and other services to their immediate lords, to whom the Jews were not subject, and these demands upon their time and labor made it practically impossible for them, unlike the case of the Jews, for a long time to devote themselves to commerce. In the interim, the Jews, with their innate commercial gifts and race connections all over the world, devoted themselves to trade and traffic. When modern industry, therefore, began for Europe in general, the Jews had long been economically advanced, and pioneers and leaders in commerce, from the days of Charlemagne on.

The economic position of the Jews in Europe, from this point on, is depicted in an admirable and suggestive essay by Roscher, the distinguished economist, entitled *Die Juden im*

Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Handelspolitik, which, strangely enough, does not yet appear to have been translated into English. Let it suffice, for our purposes, to cite his authority as indicating that the Jews, after having been the pioneers in the various fields of European industry and commerce, were restricted and handicapped more and more, and largely in the same ratio, as the various European states, with their mercantile and industrial guilds, became economically more "advanced." As the different states realized that they could imitate and themselves undertake the work the Jews had performed, economic jealousy handicapped the Jews in and gradually drove them from, first one industry, then another. Soon there was little left for Jewish activity, except foreign trade. As to this, differences in language, national jealousies, national suspicion, distrust, and want of faith and confidence in foreigners, and conditions of chronic and continuous warfare, avowed or unavowed, tended to prevent non-Jews from launching upon this line of activity, in general. Hence, we find Jews forbidden, for instance, in Holland, England and even early New York, from engaging in retail trade, and hence also, as Judge Daly so well points out, their dispersion over the world, their community of blood, language, customs and morals, their confidence in each other and cosmopolitan common interests, even possibly as against national warfare, added to their innate genius for commerce, naturally led them into international trade as pioneers and masters. Such, then, were the conditions at the time of the discovery of America.

In considering, next, Jewish activity in early American commerce, I propose merely to briefly suggest, in general terms, lines of Jewish activity; particularization is reserved for other occasions, and has already in large measure been had in specialized monographs. As to the participation of the Jews in Columbus' discovery, nothing more need be said here than to quote the late Prof. Herbert B. Adams'

suggestive and epigrammatic phrase: "Not jewels, but Jews, were the real financial basis of the first expedition of Columbus."[1]

Attention was called by Dr. Kayserling[2] to the fact that a Marrano named Luis de Torres, who accompanied Columbus on his first expedition, had settled in Cuba before the close of the fifteenth century. He appears to have first introduced tobacco into the use of civilized man, and from this date on we find Jews connected with the tobacco trade, one of the most important of all in our early colonial history. As early as 1502 we find Queen Isabella granting leave to another Marrano, Juan Sanchez of Saragossa, to send five caravels loaded with wheat, barley, horses and other articles to Espanola without payment of duties, and Ferdinand granted him a similar license two years later.[3] This man was a nephew of Gabriel Sanchez, the chief treasurer of Aragon, and he and Luis de Santangel, Comptroller-General of that State, both Marranos, had been the principal patrons of Columbus' expedition at the Spanish Court, and it was to them that Columbus directed his first letters, giving an account of his discovery. In general, however, it is to anti-Jewish ordinances and proceedings that we must turn for information as to early Jewish settlements and commercial activity in Spanish America, for the profession of Judaism was visited by most grievous penalties. Thus the repeated re-enactment, with increasingly severe penalties, of prohibitions upon the settlement of Jews, New Christians and descendants of Jews, in the New World in 1502, 1506, 1518, 1522, 1530, 1539, 1552, 1559, 1567 and 1568 indicate in themselves the ineffectiveness of these prohibitions, which were modified in 1577 upon the payment of an enormous sum of money to the Crown by Jews and

[1] Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series X, *Columbus and his Discovery of America*, p. 386.

[2] *Christopher Columbus and The Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 95.

[3] Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 127.

Marranos.[1] Their ineffectiveness is more clearly established by the numerous trials of secret Jews before the Inquisition in America, each case indicating other secret Jewish residents, the rich possessions of the victims, thus sought to be confiscated, being an important motive for these prosecutions. One of the few early non-Jewish references brought to light from other sources is the journal of the voyage of Francis Pyrard from Bahia to Portugal in 1611, who thus refers to a fellow-voyager on his ship:

"The Jew had more than 100,000 crowns' worth of merchandise, most of it his own; the rest put in his care by the principal merchant and others. There was also another Jew on board as rich as he, and four or five other Jewish merchants. The profits they make after being nine or ten years in those lands are marvellous, for they all came back rich; many of these new Christians, Jews by race, but baptized, being worth 60, 80 or even 100 thousand crowns, yet they are slightly esteemed withal."[2]

In fact, this "want of esteem," thus referred to, is suggestive, and was probably due to contempt on the part of the proud Spaniards and Portuguese for the mercantile occupation, as much as for the race. The Spaniards and Portuguese were themselves ill adapted for colonizing or trading pursuits, and this made the position of the Jews among them all the more essential, and, conversely, profitable. Brazil's "golden era" and decay clearly indicate this. Jews settled there prior to the middle of the sixteenth century, and are even said to have transplanted sugar culture from Madeira to Brazil in 1531 or 1548, and introduced the article into the New World;[3] this was the next important article of

[1] Compare Dr. Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, pp. 55–57.

[2] See this and numerous other references to Jewish activity in early American commerce, quoted in Appendix I to my paper, *Phases of Jewish Life in New York before* 1800, *I, Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 94-99.

[3] See Dr. Fishell's *Chronological Notes, Pub.* No. 2, p. 99; Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 128; Lindo's *History of Spain and Portugal*, p. 374, and a very valuable series of articles on *The First*

colonial commerce. But even if Jews did not first introduce the article in America, it is indisputable that Joseph Hakkohen, the Jewish historian, already about 1533, referred to Jewish activity in the matter of sugar culture in America,[1] and we learn from accurate though unfriendly non-Jewish sources, that the bulk of the successful sugar plantations in Brazil during the first half of the 17th century belonged to Jews. Says our informant, Nieuhoff:[2]

"They had a vast traffic beyond all the rest; they purchased sugar-mills and built stately houses in the Receif. They were all traders, which would have been of great consequence to the Dutch Brazil, had they kept themselves within the due bounds of traffic."

Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow, 25 years ago, pointed out that the establishment of the Inquisition in Brazil had the effect of injuring the sugar industry, that under the Dutch rule it again prospered, but was once more diminished in consequence of the re-establishment of the Portuguese rule, and then found its principal centre in the West Indian Islands, to which the expelled Brazilian and other Jews betook themselves. Before leaving the subject of Brazil, however, where thousands of Jews were living about the time of the Portuguese reconquest in 1654, it should be observed that Jews there, before that event, laid the foundation of Amsterdam's position as "diamontopolis."

But we must retrace our steps somewhat, in order to consider, chronologically, the relations of the Jews to the Dutch and English foreign trade movements in their infancy. When the formation of the Dutch West India Co. was being agitated about 1620, William Usselinx, the pioneer of the movement, who merely designed the establishment of Dutch

Jews on American Soil, which appeared in 1871 in vol. I of *Young Israel* from the pen of Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow, pp. 72–75, p. 212. But see E. O. von Lipmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, and Campbell's *Sugar Trade*, p. 7.

[1] Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, *Columbus in Jewish Literature*, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 133.

[2] *Pub.* No. 2, p. 95.

trading colonies in uninhabited American districts, was much annoyed to find that an opposition draft of a proposed charter was submitted to the States General, which included as features proposed attacks upon the Spanish silver fleets and a proposed capture of Brazil from the Portuguese; one of the chief arguments in favor of this opposition charter was the co-operation which Holland would secure from Jewish residents of Brazil. Needless to say, Jews were actively interested in this substitute measure. In spite of Usselinx's violent opposition, and furious and ungoverned outbreaks against the Jews in general, the proposed substitute was adopted, and these were the features which made the company financially successful and prosperous, a dividend being declared in one year of 75 per cent.[1] Jews were large stockholders and directors of the company, as indicated by Mennasseh ben Israel two and a half centuries ago, and by Judge Daly in our own day. This identification of Jews with the Dutch West India Company, from its origin on, was largely responsible for Jewish settlement and liberal treatment in New York from 1654 on, in Curaçao, settled by the same Company, a few years earlier, and throughout the West Indies.

Let us here again emphasize a circumstance already indicated, but which becomes more and more marked from this time on, and the importance of which, in any historical consideration of international trade, cannot be over-estimated. We must remove from our minds the thought of foreign and inter-state and district trade, common and important in our day, and consider the conditions of a few centuries ago, when people were in the habit of dealing largely with their immediate neighbors, when they distrusted all strangers, particularly those of other nations, living far off, when sudden, even unavowed, warfare, with or without warning, might involve a forfeiture of all the property of aliens, when

[1] See M. J. Kohler, *Beginnings of New York Jewish History*, *Publications* No. 1, p. 42–4.

such people in general had no common language, nor laws nor customs, to regulate dealings with each other, when migration and travel were very uncommon, and when means of transportation were primitive and unreliable. The era of trade with people living in distant towns and countries had, roughly speaking, not yet arrived. Naturally the Jews, dispersed all over the world, had extraordinary advantages over all other races in this species of commerce. Community of language, race, blood, rules of conduct, confidence in and intercourse with each other, inherent commercial aptitudes in this direction, and the fact of their dispersion, involuntary as often voluntary, made this role one for which they, above all others, were peculiarly well qualified. At and about the time of the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil in 1654, we find Jews, accordingly, settled in each of the following regions, important in any consideration of American colonial commerce: Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Levant, Holland, England, Brazil, Spanish America, Curaçao, Jamaica and the West Indies, Surinam and New York. The great variety of products of these regions and their diversified needs and interests indicate the golden opportunities for trade, even if restricted to Jews dealing with Jews, in each of these regions, and they were in truth taken advantage of.

Such were the conditions when Menasseh ben Israel made his application for a formal re-admission of Jews into England. Cromwell was at the time very busy with schemes of colonial empire, and was making plans to divert the lucrative carrying trade of the world, which Holland was then enjoying, to English subjects, by means of Navigation Acts and other measures. Mr. Lucien Wolf's recent brilliant work on "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell,"[1] clearly indicates that Cromwell, master statesman as he was,

[1] Published for the Jewish Historical Society of England by Macmillan & Co., London, 1901. Compare review by the writer, entitled "*Menasseh ben Israel and some Unpublished Pages of American History*" in *The American Hebrew*, Nov. 1, 1901.

fully appreciated the advantages of enlisting Jewish aid in these ambitious plans. The authorization of Jewish settlement in England, in Cromwell's time, may be regarded as a mere incident in this great game of international trade, in securing for England, this Jewish support, and that, even more abroad, than at home.[1]

How completely these plans were realized, and this trade placed in the hands of Jews in part in British possessions, may be inferred from the circumstance that, only a few years later, upon the accession of Charles II., the London Corporation, from motives of economic envy, protested against Jewish settlement in English dominions, among other reasons because, in the language of this protest, "they *monopolized the foreign trade*, and by this means injured British commerce abroad and enhanced the price of foreign commodities at home."[2] As more rational principles of government, economics and trade regulation began to come in vogue, we find the distinguished early economist, Sir Josiah Child, in his *New Discourse of Trade*, published in 1692, pleading for the naturalization of the Jews in England, solely with a view to improving England's commerce,[3] and it appears that his principal object was thus to secure for England more of the great advantages that were accruing to Holland from Jewish enterprise and commercial activity. In an able tract published and extensively circulated in England in 1753, in connection with the agitation for the repeal of the Jewish Naturalization Act of the year before, the following suggestive statements were made by one fully at home with the commercial questions involved, and influenced by far-sighted economic principles:

[1] Compare S. R. Gardner: *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vol. III (1901), p. 216: "It (the London Jewish Community in 1655) was formed for the most part of men of wealth and position, with wide commercial alliances on the Continent and in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies."

[2] Lucien Wolf: Jewish Emancipation in the City, I, *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1894.

[3] Second edition, pp. 140–4.

"The Spanish West India Trade is of that Nature and Duration that none but such as have great capitals can deal largely in it with success, and has this Circumstance peculiar to it, that to carry it on, it is necessary to have Goods from most Parts of Europe, and by Consequence it is not material where the Person lives who carries it on. However, Partiality generally engages the Merchant to augment the Assortment of the manufactures of his own Country beyond those of others. By much the greatest Part of this Trade, so far as British Capitals are concerned in it, is carried on by Jews. The Value of this Trade will be better understood when we reflect that the getting a License for one Ship yearly was reckoned an Equivalent for any faults in the Treaty of Utrecht and was on all Hands acknowledged for a great National Benefit. Now, great as it is, there is one Jew in this City (London) who constantly has a License for a larger Ship than the South Sea Company ever had, and, giving many People Shares under him, employs her constantly in this trade. Neither is he the only one, there being several Jews who carry on this Trade as extensively. This, surely, is a National Advantage, and detrimental to no Individual Merchant, as, were the Jews absent, there is not a Set of Merchants in this Country that either could or would undertake it, and were they settled in either France or Holland, they would carry on the Trade with equal Advantage . . . The Jews are often aiding by their Recommendations in employing our shipping in carrying Goods from one Foreign Port to another on Freight, prefering them, whenever it is in their Power, to those of any other Nation. . . . There are among the Jews many useful men in other Branches, especially in our Silk, Cotton and Jamaica trades, and in the Trade from the last place to the Spanish Main they are of great Utility; this is a trade which yields large Sums in Bullion to the Nation."[1]

Thus wrote an acute observer in 1753. Very properly, Zangwill, in his *King of Schnorrers,* which deals with this period, has described the character who figures as a wealthy Jewish merchant, as engaged in this West Indian trade.

Taking up next, for very brief consideration, Jewish trade in particular colonial settlements, we turn first to Jamaica.

[1] "*Further Considerations on the Act to Permit Persons professing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized by Parliament. In a Second Letter from a Merchant in Town to his Friend in the Country.*" pp. 100, 1753, See *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, p. 65, No. 358. A copy of this rare tract is contained in the Leeser Library in Philadelphia.

Here Jews had settled by the middle of the 16th century, under the protection of the house of Braganza, and began truly to flourish from the time of the British conquest, in 1655. In dealing with the Jews of Jamaica, Richard Hill, a local historian who was a member of the Jamaica privy council for some time, said:[1]

"Several Jewish families already here under the Portuguese protection, progenitors of families still living, commenced that nucleus of Jewish influence, so remarkable and so paramount in Jamaica at this day . . . The stirring commerce of the New World was here opened to them, and they started forward in a commercial career of unhindered activity . . . The Jewish families, therefore, who remained as Portuguese (at the time of the British conquest), laid the foundation of the trade and traffic of Jamaica, as soon as mercantile business had become organized with the Freebooters." See also his *Eight Chapters in the History of the Jews in Jamaica:* "In our own expectations, we reverence the Providence that has united them with us. Their presence anywhere is a significant event, with us it has been a great channel of relations with America."

The vanilla trade of Jamaica, about 1665, was also principally in Jewish hands.[2] Long, the leading historian of Jamaica, writing in 1774, in his history of Jamaica (II, p. 295), said of the Jewish residents:

"Their knowledge of foreign languages and intercourse with their brethren, dispersed over the Spanish and other West India Colonies, have contributed greatly to extend the trade and increase the wealth of the Island; for they have always been the chief importers of bullion, and the riches they acquire to themselves are expended in effect to the public welfare, for they are not mere brokers and money lenders that may remove ad libitum, for they are allowed the purchase of lands and tenements, and actually possess a large share of both . . . Among the chief men are several very opulent planters and capital merchants who are connected with great houses in the city of London."

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[1] *Lights and Shadows of Jamaican History.*

[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial: Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, vol. 1661-1668, p. 212; Lucien Wolf: *Jewish Emancipation in the City*, III; also "*The First Victory*" in *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 30, 1894.

But the chief article of trade of Jamaica and the whole West Indies was sugar, and Mr. Lucien Wolf has well said that "for a time the whole sugar trade of the West Indies was a Jewish monopoly."[1] In considering Jamaican trade and West Indian trade in general, we are apt to underestimate its importance, because we are inclined to gauge it by the character and value of this commerce in our own day, but the fact is that both actually, and, of course, relatively, it was far more important a century or two ago than to-day. This is well illustrated by Mr. Brooks Adams in his recent suggestive work on "America's Economic Supremacy," in which he shows that Jamaican trade has decreased absolutely 25 per cent since a century ago, besides which the value of money was then, of course, ever so much greater. He well says:

"Down to the battle of Waterloo, perhaps no landed property had ever proved more profitable than the sugar estates of the Caribbean; and before the advent of the East Indian nabob, the West Indian planter filled, in the popular fancy, the figure of an ideal millionaire."

We also find David Gradis, of Bordeaux, carrying on trade on a very large scale with the West Indies, his cargoes, bound for Cayenne, Martinique, St. Domingo and other points, being composed of wine, alcohol, meat and pickled meat, which he exchanged for sugar and indigo, the Rev. George Kohut even venturing to assert that Gradis "controlled the trade of France with the West Indies."[2] Surinam had a large and influential Jewish population for many years, and carried on a considerable trade with Holland, New York and other points. Their standing and influence may be inferred from the circumstance that the Dutch Governor, in 1675, refused to permit these Jewish settlers to

[1] Wolf: *Ibidem.*

[2] "Sketches of Jewish Bravery, Loyalty and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies," by Rev. Geo. A. Kohut, in Wolf's *The Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 478.

leave Surinam, in common with other British subjects, upon its cession to Holland, and Great Britain was compelled specifically to demand them of Holland as British subjects, probably the first official recognition of Jews as British subjects in foreign relations.[1] The important trade relations of the West Indian colonies, particularly of Jamaica, Barbadoes and Surinam, with New York, Pennsylvania and New England, have already been indicated.[2] In the archives of the State of New York[3] is to be found the original Spanish bill of lading and invoice of goods shipped from Curaçao to New Netherland in 1658, directed to Joshua Mordekay En-Riques, consisting of Venetian pearls, Venetian pendants, thimbles, scissors, knives and bells, thus partly corroborating Dr. Kayserling's statement[4] that "Jews, scattered along the whole coast, carried on an extensive trade in precious stones with Venice, Turkey and other countries."

The varied elements in New York's population and connections made the trade of its Jewish residents also, most diversified. Soon after the earliest party of Jewish settlers arrived in New York, we find some of them importing a cargo of tobacco; a few years later others are referred to as shipping goods from New York to Surinam. Of course trade with Holland and Curaçao had been opened, and attracted some of the Jewish settlers before this. Already in 1661 we learn of Jewish importers of negro slaves, and in 1720 a Jewish resident was engaged in exchanging merchandise for slaves, brought in his own vessel from Guinea. Within a few years after their arrival in New York, Jews

[1] Prof. J. H. Hollander: "Documents Relating to the Attempted Departure of the Jews from Surinam in 1675," *Pub.* No. 6, p. 9; also papers by Dr. B. Felsenthal and Prof. Gottheil, *Pub.* IV, p. 1; Prof. Gottheil, No. 9, 129, 143, and Kohler, No. 8, 77-8, 91-96.

[2] See particularly the valuable paper by Dr. H. Friedenwald, entitled "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," *Pub.* No. 5, p. 45, and New York records.

[3] MS. Translation of Dutch Records, vol. XII, p. 99.

[4] *Columbus*, p. 129.

had established trade intercourse along the Delaware River, within the present limits of Pennsylvania. Reference after reference to importations by Jewish residents of New York, frequently in their own vessels, from Rhode Island, Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Thomas, Canada, Bermudas, Lisbon, Madeira and Liverpool are to be encountered before the Revolutionary War.[1] Even with India trade was opened during this period by a Jewish resident, who had himself previously lived in Calcutta, while still another Jewish resident sent his own ships to Malabar and China. Nor was trade with Indians for furs neglected, as witness the career of Hayman Levy, at one time employer of the first Astor. During the French and Indian war we even find American Jews serving as contractors for the British armies' supplies here. Perhaps the most suggestive indication of Jewish commercial acumen is afforded by the career of Luis Gomez, who was engaged in the exportation of wheat on an enormous scale early in the 18th century, and succeeded in 1710, in consequence of a strong and persuasive memorial on the advantages of repealing certain existing restrictions upon the exportation of wheat, in inducing the New York Council to permit him to export a cargo of wheat to Madeira, after numerous similar memorials by others had been rejected.[2] The trade interests of Newport Jews were similarly enormous during the few decades preceding the Revolution (*Pub.* No. 6, p. 61), particularly in the case of Aaron Lopez, whose many vessels were commonly freighted in the West Indies with molasses, which was brought to Newport, then manufactured into rum for exportation to the coast of Africa, the vessels returning from Africa with slaves for the West Indian market. Lopez's vessels exceeded thirty, it seems, shortly before the Revolution, and he was looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant in New England. The spermacetti industry was created by the Newport Jews; they even formed an inter-colonial oil

[1] *Pub.* No. 2, 76; No. 3, 73.

[2] *Pub.* No. 3, 79.

trust about 150 years ago, thus antedating the Standard Oil Co., and their participation in whaling was also very great. Time forbids similar discussion of Philadelphia's, Charleston's and Savannah's Jewish communities.

Edward Eggleston, the leading historian of American colonial commerce, has well pointed out that the balance of trade with Europe was heavily against the American colonies every year, and as the English merchants declined to accept our colonial currency, this heavy balance had to be paid in coin. This coin was procured only through the medium of this foreign trade, particularly with the Spanish and West Indian settlements, who had gold and silver, and needed nearly every other commodity instead. As already stated, the principal places with which this trade was conducted were places where Jewish settlements had been formed at an early day, where Jewish traders predominated, and with whom Jewish traders elsewhere naturally had marked advantages over persons of other persuasions. Jewish influences on the trade and destiny of our country along these lines were large, and no other people were so well qualified to exercise them. This trade was a physical necessity, and without it, bankruptcy, stagnation and ruin would have fallen to the lot of the colonies, so little were their interests considered by the framers of legislation in England.

What wonder, then, that economic conditions laughed to scorn Navigation Acts and the like, when necessity and existence were thus involved, especially as violations of revenue laws were not regarded in that day as *mala in se.*

We may well conclude this consideration of Jewish activity in our colonial commerce with the observations of Long, the historian of Jamaica, made in 1774, a writer moreover, whose works show that he was not entirely free from the anti-Semitic prejudice of the day. After quoting a passage from the French Code Noir of 1685, by which Jews were excluded from the French colonies, he adds:[1]

[1] *History of Jamaica*, III, p. 922.

"But what must our losses of trade and inhabitants have been at Jamaica, had we copied from this precedent, and (as our Council once foolishly petitioned the crown), proscribed these useful people from our islands? In fact, this measure of the French Government has been, comparatively speaking, almost as beneficial to us as their persecution of the Huguenots many years ago proved to England. We gained a large accession of subjects who brought not only their wealth with them, but their knowledge in trade."

THE JEWS OF GEORGIA IN COLONIAL TIMES.

By Leon Hühner, A. M., LL.B.

Of the original thirteen colonies, Georgia is distinctive with respect to its settlement. It was primarily brought into being by considerations of charity and was intended by the trustees, who obtained the Charter for its foundation, to be a model colony in every respect. Thus at the very start all sorts of restrictions were placed upon the settlers[1] and the two things deemed most prejudicial to a model state, namely rum and lawyers, were absolutely excluded. It is curious to note that although the trustees soon relaxed as to the former, yet during the entire period that they were in charge, lawyers were not permitted in the colony.[2]

It is erroneous to suppose that the colony was founded to afford a refuge for reformed convicts or the like. Its primary object was to assist needy and respectable families from England and elsewhere to better their condition by giving them land in the New World, and assisting them in its cultivation by bounties or otherwise.[3] "The colonists were to be those who could not make a comfortable living in England, men of good morals who were not in debt, or, if in debt, whose creditors were willing for them to leave England."[4] The trustees consented to no im-

[1] *Historical Collections of Georgia*, compiled from original records and official documents by the Rev. George White, M. A., N. Y., 1855, p. 16. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741.

[2] *History of Augusta, Ga.*, by Chas. C. Jones, Syracuse, 1890, p. 40 &c. Also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741, p. 21.

[3] *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George Gillman Smith, Macon, 1900, p. 5.

[4] *Id.*, p. 5.

migrants except such as had presented themselves to them, and had been found to be worthy of the Charity, and desirable both because of their respectability and physical condition.[1] Most of the settlers who came over with Oglethorpe in 1733 were able-bodied and deserving young men.

The beginning of Jewish history in Georgia is nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of the colony. Some of the detail regarding the early Jewish settlers has been heretofore ably presented to this society by the Hon. Charles C. Jones, the distinguished historian of Georgia,[2] but there is so much additional material, much of which Mr. Jones did not have at the time his paper was presented, that the present writer hopes to be pardoned for presenting a paper on the same subject, and therefore as to such statements as appear in the earlier sketch, he proposes merely to make allusion herein.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Sephardic congregation of London was looked upon as the most representative Jewish congregation in Europe. Its members were, for the most part, men of great wealth and influence, and its fame for charity was such that frequent applications for assistance came to it from the less fortunate Jews in all parts of the world.[3] They assisted the Portuguese refugees who still came in numbers after escaping the terrors of the Portuguese Inquisition, and on the other hand the congregation had its "poor problem," there having been at just that period a great influx of poor German Jews into England.

Picciotto tells us that to endeavor to diminish the strain of pauperism by immigration, the Sephardic congregation appointed a Committee to apply for grants of land in Georgia which the British government was freely distributing to intending immigrants. This Committee remained standing

[1] *History of Georgia*, by Chas. C. Jones, vol. I, p. 113.

[2] *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 1, pp. 5–12.

[3] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, pp. 152, 159, &c.

for some years, "but," says Picciotto, "though it was still in existence in 1745, we do not gather that it led to any practical results."[1]

There can be no doubt that this Committee consisted of three of the wealthiest officers of the Congregation, namely, Francis Salvador, Alvaro Lopez Suasso, and Anthony da Costa. Despite Picciotto's statement, it seems that these gentlemen did take action to accomplish the desired result.

As early as 1732, while collections were being made in England for the purposes of Oglethorpe's charity, commissions were issued to the three gentlemen named to collect monies for the purposes of the Charter.[2] They apparently did collect monies, probably among the wealthy Jews in the congregation, and with the money collected sent several Jews to Georgia, though without first obtaining the consent of the trustees so to do.[3]

While the Charter of the trustees guaranteed liberty of conscience and worship to all settlers except Papists,[4] it seems that the trustees had never expected that Jews might come within the scope of the provision, and all their records show that they harbored considerable prejudice against members of the ancient faith.[5] This being apparently their exception to the rule of universal charity.

That Jews were about to be sent to Georgia seems to have been known to the trustees several months before that event

[1] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 152.

[2] Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 152. *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, 1, p. 6. Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 65. White's *Historical Collections*, 328, &c.

[3] *Historical Collections of Georgia, &c.*, by George White, p. 328. Also authorities above cited.

[4] *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America, &c.*, by Patrick Tailfer, M. D., and others, Charles-town, 1741, p. 13.

Also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. I, p. 13. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 92.

[5] *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by George White, p. 328.

took place.[1] As early as January, 1733, they required Salvador and his colleagues to deliver up their commissions. The latter refused to comply, and it would seem as though there was some question as to the construction of the authority conferred, and that after all there was a question whether the gentlemen named were not acting within the scope of their authority. After a long correspondence the commissions were surrendered in 1734.[2] The ground on which the trustees based their revocation is stated in the correspondence to be "that the sending of Jews may be of ill consequence to the Colony," and again "that they cannot conceive but the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the Colony."[3]

In July, 1733, forty Israelites arrived at Savannah.[4] The gentlemen in England who were responsible for sending Jews to Georgia acted from purely charitable motives with the avowed object of accomplishing the result which the London Congregation desired to accomplish. Subsequent events, too, show that the settlers sent by them were entirely unexceptionable under the rules of the trustees, nearly all being under thirty years of age, able-bodied and industrious.[5]

That no wrongful motive can be attributed to Salvador and his colleagues goes without saying when we remember that those gentlemen stood beyond reproach in the community. Francis Salvador was at this time one of the di-

[1] *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by George White, p. 328, &c. See Trustees' entries in minutes Jan. 31, 1732.

[2] *Id.*, p. 328, quoting from the minutes of the Trustees. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 152.

[3] See White's *Historical Collections*, 328 and 329. Steven's *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 101. Also Jones, I, p. 152 &c.

[4] Steven's *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 101. Jones, I, p. 152, &c. Force's *Collections*, vol. I, p. 21 (20 families). White's *Historical Collections*, p. 328.

[5] See the Sheftall Narrative given in part in I, *Occident*, p. 382. From the various dates given therein, the ages of several of these early settlers at the time of their arrival can easily be calculated.

rectors of the Dutch East India Company, and was one of the wealthiest merchants in England. He made frequent loans to the British government, and his charities annually went into considerable sums.[1] The Salvador family seems also to have owned immense tracts of land in South Carolina, and to have been generally interested in American enterprises.[2] His colleague on the Committee, Alvaro Lopez Suasso, also known as Baron Suasso, was one of the wealthiest men of his day;[3] while the third member, Anthony da Costa, was the first Jewish director of the Bank of England.[4]

Though forty Israelites arrived at Savannah in July, 1733, not all of these, if any, were actually sent by Salvador and his colleagues. Those who were sent were all Germans.

In an early account on the Settlement of the Jews in Georgia, written in 1733 by Benjamin Sheftall,[5] he mentions that the forty Israelites who came to the colony paid their passage, laid in the necessary supplies for the voyage, and were in no way dependent on charity. This statement would at first blush appear inconsistent with the entry in the records of the trustees referred to. Investigation, however, shows that Sheftall's statement is absolutely correct. It seems that there were two sets of Jewish settlers who came into Georgia—the Portuguese and the Germans. The Portuguese, among whom were also one or two Bavarian Jews, are those referred to in Sheftall's narrative and most of them were, like Dr. Nunez and Abraham De Lyon, direct

[1] See paper by the present writer on "Francis Salvador," the grandson of the gentleman above mentioned, *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, 107, &c. See also Picciotto's account of the Salvador family.

[2] Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, I, p. 348, &c. Also Picciotto.

[3] Drayton's *Memoirs*, I, pp. 348 and 349.

[4] *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 103.

[5] See article by Mordecai Sheftall in I, *Occident*, p. 381. Comp. also article by "A Southern Jew," I, *Occident*, p. 247.

refugees from the Portuguese Inquisition.[1] Most of these, too, had independent means. The German, on the other hand, belonged to the class who were dependent on charity and consisted of about twelve families who were sent over by the Committee of the London Congregation.

It is needless to say, that both sets of settlers kept very much apart. The prejudice existing in that day between

[1] Dr. Nunez was a native of Lisbon. See White's *Statistics*, p. 601.

Mr. J. D. Harby, of Charleston, S. C., a descendant of Abraham De Lyon, informs me that the De Lyons are a distinct family and not of the same stock as the De Leons, of South Carolina. My impression is that some distant relationship between the two families is admitted. It is claimed also that *De Lyon* is the only correct spelling. While it is only fair to bow to family tradition on this subject, the impartial writer must, however, call attention to the fact that in the early records at least, the name is indiscriminately spelt both De Lyon and De Leon, referring to the same individual. In Tailfer's *True Narrative* (1741), the name invariably appears as De Leon or simply Leon. Martyn in his narrative, 1742, spells the name De Lyon, and other early records spell the name both ways. McCall, writing as late as 1816, spells the name De Leon. Wherever it has been possible to do so in this sketch I have adhered to the family tradition, and have only departed therefrom when making a quotation, in which case I have always felt that a writer should invariably give a quotation as he finds it.

Mr. Harby also informs me that the traditions of his family have it that Abraham De Lyon came from Spain. On this subject, however, I find that all the early documents and records are uniform in referring to Mr. De Lyon as "a Jew who had been for many years a vineron in Portugal," or "who for years before coming to America had been a vineron in Portugal," or simply as "a vineron from Portugal," etc., etc. See Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741, p. 27, &c.

Martyn's *Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America* (1742). McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 58. Also *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, pp. 48, 50. *An Impartial Inquiry Into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, 1741, pp. 21–22. See also letter by the present writer in *American Israelite*, Feb. 15, 1901, on this subject. Also Force's *Historical Col.*, vol. I, pp. 48, 50. The other settlers are also mentioned as Portuguese Jews and it has already been stated that the Ribiero family came from Lisbon.

the Portuguese and German Jews was too great to allow of close relations.[1]

The Portuguese Jewish settlers came, as has been stated, without any assistance whatever. Many of them, like Dr. Nunez, brought considerable funds with them into the Colony. Owing to a discrepancy in dates also, in the trustees' entries and in Sheftall's narrative (the one mentioning the arrival of Jews as of July 7 and the other as July 11), it would appear as though those Jews who were assisted came in a separate vessel.[2] Certain it is, that most of the Sephardic Jews were born in Portugal and that these remained separate and apart from the German Jews in the New World, separated perhaps by the same prejudice that had controlled in the Old.

Whether the Jews came together or separately, however, the prejudice of the trustees extended to Jews generally, independently of nationality. They promptly wrote to Oglethorpe to give them no encouragement but to get rid of them as soon as possible.[3]

To Oglethorpe alone belongs the credit that the Jewish settlers were allowed to remain. He retained them on his own responsibility. He sought to pacify the trustees by praising the industry of the newcomers and giving a detailed account of the noble services of Dr. Nunez, one of the settlers, a wealthy refugee from the Portuguese Inquisition, whose generous ministering to the sick in the Colony had excited

[1] An instance of this feeling is mentioned by Picciotto (Sketches, pp. 157–8). It was just about this time that Jacob Bernal of London desired to marry a German lady. The Congregation for a long time withheld its consent and finally gave it only on certain very humiliating conditions. No Minister was to be present at the ceremony, the bridegroom was not to be called up to the law, and no Synagogue celebration to take place.

[2] See paper in I, *Occident*, p. 381, &c. Comp. Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c.

[3] See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 153. See also White's *Historical Collections*, 328, &c. See *A History of Georgia*, by Rev. William Bacon Stevens (1847), vol. I, p. 102.

Oglethorpe's admiration.[1] The trustees replied coldly, stating that Dr. Nunez ought to be compensated for his services if they were deserving, but that the Jews should have no lands allotted them in the Colony.[2] Oglethorpe, however, did not act on these instructions; he who had once taken the liberty of throwing a glass of wine into the face of Prince Eugene of Savoy,[3] had sufficient pluck to contravene the desires of the trustees, when by obeying he was obliged to lose some of the best settlers in the Colony.[4]

Later on, if it be permitted to digress, it appears that Oglethorpe repeatedly contravened the desires of the trustees. Thus on one occasion, the latter sent £200 to be given to "Abraham De Leon, the Jew, to assist him in the cultivation of vines." When De Leon applied for the money, the record states that "Mr. Oglethorpe did not deny receiving £200, but said he could not advance more than 20 or 30£ in regard he had other uses for the money and so that design dropped."[5]

The writer ventures to give again the names of the first Jewish settlers of whom mention is made. These, however, comprise the Portuguese or Sephardic element only, and the excuse for giving the names is, because the full Portuguese name, in many cases, has never before been given and is not even found in Sheftall's narrative. They are as follows: Dr. Samuel Nunez Ribiero, also known as Dr. Nunez; Sipra

[1] See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, pp. 154–155; Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 102.

[2] See Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 155. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 102.

[3] Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Murray's edition, 1851) Vol. 3, pp. 217, 218.

[4] Stevens' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 103.

[5] *Tracts and other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies of North America.* Collected by Peter Force (1836). Vol. 1, p. 27.

See also Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* (1741), p. 27, &c. "That they remitted the two hundred pounds by Mr. Oglethorpe for his use, which he did not deny, when applied to by the said Leon for the same."

Nunez Ribiero, his mother, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Daniel Nunez Ribiero, Shem Noah, Isaac Nunes Henriques, his wife and son, Raphael Bornal and wife, David De Olivera and wife, Jacob Lopez De Olivera and wife, his children, David, Isaac and Leah De Olivera, Aaron Depivea, Benjamin Gideon, Jacob Lopez De Crasto, David Lopez De Pas and wife, Mr. Vene Real, probably Villareal, Mr. Molena, David Moranda, Jacob Moranda, David Cohen Del Monte and wife, Isaac Cohen Del Monte, their son, Abigail, Hannah and Grace Del Monte, their daughters, Abraham Minis and wife, Leah and Esther, their daughters, Simeon Minis, Jacob Yowel, Benjamin Sheftall and wife and Abraham De Lyon.[1]

In a paper by Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, it is also stated that David Mendes Machado came from Lisbon with Dr. Nunez and married the doctor's daughter shortly after his arrival.[2] But the records contain no allusion to either Machado or any daughter of Dr. Nunez. It is possible, however, that they arrived subsequently, as several additional Portuguese Jews seem to have arrived a few months after the original settlers.[3]

It is stated by several authorities, that Oglethorpe made

[1] These names and their spelling have been taken as far as possible from the original sources, namely, the original deed, the *Journal of the Trustees*, and other contemporary records. See also White's *Statistics*, p. 101. Compare also article by a "Southern Jew," 1, *Occident*, p. 247. Article by Mr. Sheftall. *Id.*, p. 381. It has already been stated that the name of Abraham De Lyon is indiscriminately spelt De Lyon, De Leon, or simply Leon, in contemporary records.

[2] See paper on *David Mendez Machado*, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, in 1, *Amer. J. Historical Society Publications*, p. 45.

[3] See Sheftall paper in *Occident*, 1, p. 381, &c. The names of several Jews not mentioned among the first arrivals appear shortly afterward in the early colonial records. Several of these new names also appear in the original deed which was made within a few months after the first mention of Jewish settlers. See Deed and Schedule.

A detailed description of this voyage may be found in 1, *Occi-*

allotments of land to all of the Jewish settlers.[1] But this statement seems to be without foundation. Not only had the trustees forbidden Oglethorpe to make such allotments, but the names of none of the German Jews appear in the original deed. The most probable view is, that those Jews to whom allotments were made, bought the land allotted with their own money, the Portuguese settlers being possessed of means and not in any manner dependent upon charity.

Thus Samuel Nunez Ribiero, or Dr. Nunez, as he is most frequently called, was a wealthy physician in Portugal, and a most interesting and romantic account of his escape from the Inquisition and of his many adventures before coming to Georgia has been written by the late Judge Noah and may be found in White's *Statistics*.[2] From this it appears that he he had no need of charity whatever, and on the contrary brought means with him to America.[3] Some of the silver and plate which he brought is still in the possession of the family.[4]

The majority of the Sephardic contingent had not even lived a great while in England, but were, as has been stated, direct refugees from the Inquisition in Portugal.[5]

dent, p. 381, &c. The vessel was almost wrecked off North Carolina, and the settlers remained at New Inlet for several weeks before proceeding to Savannah. It is quite probable that several of the company remained behind and came on shortly afterward, which would account for appearance of the additional names within so short a period. The original Journal kept by Benjamin Sheftall, only a portion of which has ever been made public, is, I am informed, in the possession of Miss Sally Sheftall, of Savannah.

[1] See vol. 1 of Force's *Historical Collections*, p. 21. Also note to Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., pp. 21, 22. Also 1, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

[2] *Statistics of Georgia*, by George White, 1849, pp. 101, 619. Compare paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 46.

[3] White's *Statistics*, p. 620.

[4] See paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. T. Phillips, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 47.

[5] This appears from the references in the Trustees' minutes. Also the reference contained therein to the Inquisition itself.

The names of the German Jews who came to Georgia nowhere appear in the records. They seem to have been poor and were sent over by Salvador and his colleagues. That they were in the Colony, however, and that they lived apart from the Portuguese settlers amply appears from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, a Protestant Clergyman who arrived in Georgia with a number of Protestant refugees from Salzburg in 1734.[1] His Journal describes the kindly reception given to his flock by the Jews of Georgia,[2] and under date March 14th, 1734, appears the following entry: "The Jews likewise of which there are twelve families here come to church and seem to be very devout. They understand the German tongue."[3] Under date March 20th, 1734,

The statement is also borne out by the sketches of individual settlers like Dr. Nunez, Abraham De Lyon and others. Compare also paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 47.

[1] "An extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, who conducted the first transport of Salzburgers to Georgia, and of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of their ministers, giving an Account of their Voyage to and Happy Settlement in that Province." Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1734. See also White's *Historical Collections*, p. 436.

[2] Bolzius *Journal*, p. 20, 26, &c. See also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. IV, p. 20, &c. Some of the instances are related in Mr. Jones' paper, *Pub.* No. 1, p. 9.

Among the instances given is one that "on the arrival of the Salzburgers, a Jew invited them for breakfast and showed them many kindnesses." On another occasion Bolzius says of the Jews of Georgia, "They are so honest and faithful, that the like is hardly to be found."

This *Journal* or "Reise Diarium" is one of the great sources of information about early Georgia. Only a few fragments from it have been translated or used heretofore. It is contained with much other material in an exceedingly voluminous German publication entitled *Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Saltzburgschen Emigranten die sich in America niedergelassen haben*, Herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger. Halle MDCCXXXV, &c. I shall refer to these volumes hereafter as *Urlsperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*. For above, see Vol. 1, p. 82.

[3] Bolzius' Journal under date March 13, 1734, p. 20. Also Force's

the following appears: "Because these Jews show a great love for us, and have promised to see us at our settlement, we hope we will preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to them with good success. They are both born in Germany and speak good German."[1]

These statements manifestly do not refer to the Portuguese Jews. Bolzius at first absolutely ignores the Portuguese element and most naturally, too. The Portuguese could not speak the German language and lived apart from the others. On the other hand he could most easily pick up acquaintance with and learn the history of those who spoke his own tongue.

Later on, however, the German Jews seem to have become quite influential, and the Rev. Mr. Bolzius speaks of both the Portuguese and German elements as distinct and separate classes. This appears from the following extract from a letter dated July 3rd, 1739, written by him from Eben Ezer, in Georgia, to a friend in Germany.

"We are close to the Spaniards and on account of such dangerous proximity, care is taken to keep down negro slaves and the Roman Catholics. With these exceptions all sects and all kinds of people are tolerated and are permitted to enjoy all manner of liberty like native Englishmen. Even the Jews of whom several families are here already, enjoy all privileges the same as other Colonists. Some call themselves Spanish and Portuguese, others call themselves German Jews. The latter speak High German and differ from the former in their religious services and to some extent in other matters as well, as the former do not

Historical Collections, IV, p. 20. See also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten* under date March 14, 1734, Vol. 1, p. 83.

[1] An extract from the Journal of Rev. Mr. Bolzius. Date, March 20, 1734. See also Force's *Collections*, Vol. 4, p. 26. See also *Urlsperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c., Vol. 1, p. 90. The German original, however, seems only to refer to a certain Jew and his wife. Of these he says, "This Jew and his wife have been most obliging to the Saltzburgers, and they are so sincere and

seem to take it so particular in regard to the dietary laws and other Jewish ceremonies. They have no Synagogue, which is their own fault; the one element hindering the other in this regard. The German Jews believe themselves entitled to build a Synagogue and are willing to allow the Spanish Jews to use it with them in common, the latter, however, reject any such arrangement and demand the preference for themselves."[1]

As a matter of fact, we are told, that in 1733 the Jews constituted one-third of the entire population.[2]

Despite the statement in a note to Tailfer's *True Narrative of Georgia*, published in 1741, that "all the Jews received land,"[3] this seems not to have been the case. As already stated, it is most likely that those who obtained land paid for it. This surmise is amply borne out by the first deed, which was made some months after the arrival of the Jews and gives all allottments from the very beginning.[4] In the

upright that one might look in vain for their like among others of their race and among a good many Christians as well." He then gives examples of their model honesty.

It may be interesting to note too that the Saltzburgers themselves brought with them a converted German Jew. This individual originally bore the name of Salomon Lévi, he became a Christian at Augsburg, Germany, and received the name Johann Gottfried Christ; under which name he is referred to in the Journal. See *Urlsperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten.* Vol. I. pp. 667, 781, 1044, 2564. Vol. 2, pp. 429, 900, 935, 954, 1849–50, 1829, 1858, 2019. He died before 1747. Vol. III, p. 261.

[1] *Urlsperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 1, p. 2277. In this connection it may not be amiss to call attention to another curious note in the Journal, bearing date Savannah, March 23, 1734. "There are Jews here who do not observe the Jewish regulations as to food and the Sabbath. There are several real fine characters among them." *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 215.

[2] See Mr. Sheftall's paper. *Occident* 1. 381, &c.

[3] See Force's *Historical Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 21. Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 21, &c.

[4] The original allottment was made July 7, 1733, and other allottments were made within the next few months. The deed referred to was made several months thereafter and confirmed all preceding

first place, this deed contains names of Portuguese Jews only, not a single German being mentioned therein, with the exception of Mr. Sheftall, who was a native of Bavaria and had probably lived for some time in England, where he became affiliated with the Sephardic rather than the German element.[1] Only thirteen Jewish names appear in the deed referred to, and not all those mentioned received the same proportion of land. On the contrary, many of these Portuguese Jews were allotted more farms than were given to any of the Christians, with one or two exceptions. However generous Oglethorpe may have been, it is unreasonable to suppose that he would have favored the Jews in making allottments of land gratis and give to them more than to native Englishmen. But, on the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that he was willing to sell them all the land they wanted, provided they paid for it.[2]

The Jewish names mentioned in the original deed are: Isaac Nunes Henriques, Moses le Desma, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Jacob Lopez de Olivera, Isaac de Val, David Cohen Del Monte, Benjamin Sheftall, Abraham Nunez Monte Santo, Jacob Yowel, Abraham Minis, Jacob Lopez de Crasto and David de Pas.[3]

Mr. Nunez received six farms, Henriques seven, Le Desma ten, and in the same tithing, only in one instance did a Christian receive as many as nine farms. Again, in another ward, D'Olivera received seven farms, and David Cohen Del Monte thirty. That was actually three times as many as

allottments. A copy of the deed and its annexed schedule may be found in Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 158.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Harby, of Charleston, for the information that Benjamin Sheftall came from Bavaria.

[2] This is also borne out by the remark of Stevens, the historian. He praises the industry of the Jewish settlers, who, he says, "asking for no charity, clamorous for no peculiar privileges, *demanded from the trustees nothing but the freeholds which their money purchased.*" See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 104.

[3] See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 158, &c.

were allowed to any single Christian in the entire Colony.[1] It should be noted also, that the Jews' lots were not all in one district, but that they were represented in nearly every district.

From the deed also, we learn that some Jews came into the Colony during the few months intervening between the original settlement and the date of the deed. Three new names appear in the deed, namely, Isaac De Val, Moses le Desma and Abraham Nunez Monte Santo.[2]

It is curious to note too, that in "*Tailfer's True Narrative,*" published in 1741, the statement appears, that "the Jews flocked to Georgia attracted by the temptation of inheritances."[3] Allottments must have been made subsequently to others, for in 1735 Abraham De Lyon is repeatedly described as a freeholder of Savannah.[4]

That the Jews were allowed to remain in the Colony was not however due to Oglethorpe's generosity alone. There was one reason which undoubtedly influenced him to retain them and which, in all likelihood subsequently influenced the Trustees as well. I refer to the fact, that from the start the trustees intended to make Georgia a silk raising and wine producing country. This appears constantly on their records as well as in their advertisements to proposing settlers.[5] In both the industries mentioned, the Sephardic Jews of that day excelled. It is but necessary to allude in this connec-

[1] See Deed and Schedule as given in Jones' *History*, vol. 1, p. 158, &c.

[2] See Deed and Schedule as given in Jones' History I, p. 158 &c.

[3] A *True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America* by Patrick Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. D., Dr. Douglas and others. Charlestown 1741 p. 19. See also Force's *Historical Collections* I, p. 19.

[4] See *History of Georgia* by Hugh McCall, 1816, Vol. 1, p. 58. McCall spells the name DeLeon.

[5] *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People* by George Gillman Smith p. 14. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative* above referred to, p. 20 &c 38, 39 &c and also the Trustees' *Minutes*. (Wormloe). See also *Brief Account of the Establishment of Georgia* in I, Forces' *Historical Collections* II.

tion to the extensive grape cultivation started in the Colony by Abraham De Lyon, one of the Portuguese settlers and to whom a portion of Mr. Jones' paper is devoted.[1] It appears subsequently in the records of the trustees, that they assisted him with money to cultivate his vineyard on a larger scale.[2]

It may indeed have been this very feature of making Georgia a wine producing and silk raising country that induced these very Portuguese Jewish refugees to go to Georgia rather than to any of the other Colonies. The fact was extensively advertised by the trustees, and while these refugees were not assisted by the London Congregation, it is quite likely that they were advised to go to the New Colony as it afforded them opportunities in this direction. Theoretically too, Georgia must have appealed to these refugees more than any of the other Colonies. Liberty of conscience and of worship was guaranteed to all save Papists. The industries that the trustees wanted to foster were the very ones in which they excelled and in addition, the accounts of the climate and soil set forth in the advertisements were so glowing as to appeal particularly to natives of a Southern clime.[3] The following is taken from one of the earliest pamphlets describing Georgia: "Nature has not blessed the world with any tract which can be preferable to it. Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed at most, but equal to its native excellencies. It lies in the same latitude with Palestine her-

[1] *Amer. Jew. Hist. Pub.*, No. 1, p. 9–10. Also Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1 p. 378. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 27. McCall, *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 58. *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, London 1742, vol. 1, pp. 48–50. Also *An Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia* 1741, pp. 21–22.

[2] See "*Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*, by Benjamin Martyn, 1742, p, 24. Also Telfair's *True Narrative*, p. 27 &c. See also Trustees' *Minutes*.

An interesting account of Mr. De Lyon's skill and success in vine raising may be found found in Stephens *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 48.

[3] See *The Story of Georgia* &c. by George G. Smith at p. 6.

self, that promised Canaan, which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people." [1]

In 1734 the Lutheran refugees from Salzburg came into the colony, and it is from their records alone that we learn anything about the German Jews. I shall merely allude generally to the kindly treatment received by these Christians from the Jews, as this subject has already been treated in Mr. Jones' paper; but one curious reference which that distinguished historian seems to have overlooked I venture to give in full. It reads "The Jew of whom mention has been made above has shown us and the Salzburgers so much goodness, that we could desire no more, and though we offered him a sum of money for his labors, he refused to accept of it. Wherefore the Salzburgers who are still here resolve to till his ground and to clear it of trees and so make good again what he hath neglected for their sake." [2]

The Jews generally however, applied themselves not only to the wine and silk industries but to general agricultural and commercial pursuits as well.[3] There being no discrimination against Jews in matters of trade, we find that as early as 1737, Mr. Minis is mentioned as a storekeeper in Savannah.[4]

In one of the early narratives it is stated that when Dr. Nunez heard of the uncivil reply of the trustees, he promptly

[1] This was issued long before the Colony was actually founded, but it is fairly characteristic of many of the subsequent advertisements. See *A Discourse Concerning the Design'd Establishment of a New Colony* by Sir Robert Mountgomery, Baronet, London, 1717. See also Jones' *History of Georgia* I, p. 71.

[2] *Journal* of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius (1734), p. 28. (Under date April 3, 1734.) See also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten* &c. Vol. 1, p. 97.

[3] We are informed that the principal importer and merchant of the Colony was an Israelite with whom Oglethorpe and the Trustees had dealings to a large amount. See Stevens *History of Georgia* I, 103.

[4] Smiths' *Story of Georgia*, &c. p. 517.

left the Colony.[1] If this was so, however, his absence was merely of short duration, for he subsequently frequently appears in the records of the trustees.[2]

The statement is also pretty generally made, that the illiberal policy of the trustees toward the Jews induced the latter to leave Georgia and go to Charlestown. This statement is incorrect. The reasons which ultimately induced most of the Jews to leave the colony had nothing whatever to do with religious prejudice. As a matter of fact, in departing from Georgia, they did no more than a great many Christians did, and for the same reason, as will be pointed out hereafter.

Before going further, however, some mention should be made of the religious life of these early settlers. During the very month of their arrival, they decided to open a synagogue under the name "Mikveh Israel," and rented a house in Market Square for the purpose.[3] They had brought with them a "Sepher Torah," the gift of a Mr. Lindo, of London, and soon established their congregation on a permanent basis. In 1737, as appears from the Sheftall manuscript, Mr. Benjamin Mendez, of London, sent them a "Sepher Torah," a Chanuca lamp and books, all of which were delivered to the congregation by Mr. Isaac de Cunica, who had brought them.[4]

This congregation continued until 1740 when it was dissolved owing to the removal of the majority of its members from the Colony.

[1] See *Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, by Adelaide Wilson. —— p. 238, where a like statement is made.

[2] See *Journal of Trustees*, 260, &c.

[3] See *Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, by Adelaide Wilson, p. 96. Also White's *Statistics*, p. 101.

Also Mr. Sheftall's paper in I, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

Stevens' *History of Georgia*. I, p. 370, &c.

[4] Paper by Mr. Sheftall, *Occident*, 1, 384, &c. There can be no doubt about the above statement. The quotation heretofore given from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius refers only to the building of a synagogue.

The first Jewish child to be born in Georgia was Philip Minis, who was born at Savannah July 11, 1734, about a year and a half after the founding of the Colony. Mordecai Sheftall, who subsequently became one of the prominent patriots of the Revolution, was born in 1735, and his brother, Levi Sheftall, in 1739.[1]

Some of the Jewish settlers who came to Georgia within a year or two after the original settlement, appear to have come from or at any rate to have been in South America. One interesting instance of this is found in connection with the founding of the town of Frederica by Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe himself superintended the beginning of the new settlement, and the ancient account of the foundation of Frederica reads: "Mr. Oglethorpe had divided the Colonists into parties; one cut forks, poles and laths for building the bowers, another set them up, a third fetched palmetto leaves, a fourth thatched, and a Jew workman bred in Brazil and had come from Savannah taught them to do this nimbly and in a neat manner."[2]

It has already been mentioned that the trustees desired to make a model Colony of the settlement. In their efforts so to do, they adopted several very illiberal measures for those days, and put all sorts of commercial restrictions upon the settlers. One feature in particular created much discontent during their management. That was that negro slavery was absolutely prohibited in the Colony from the very start.[3] It was this feature that seems to have borne

[1] See Mr. Sheftall's paper in *Occident*, 1, p. 381, &c. All of those named figured subsequently in the Revolutionary War.

[2] *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the Year* 1735, by Francis Moore. London, 1744, p. 114. See also *Georgia Historical Society Publications.* Vol. 1, p. 114, &c.

Also *The Dead Towns of Georgia*, by C. C. Jones. (Savannah, 1878), p. 54.

[3] For an Account of these Restrictions and grievances, see Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 21, &c. Also vol. 1 of Force's *Historical Collections*, p. 21, &c.

See also *Reise Diarium* des Herrn von Reck, given in Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten.* Vol. 1, p. 814.

more severely on the settlers of Georgia than it might have done elsewhere, in view of the fact that in all the other Colonies slavery was then an established institution and in neighboring South Carolina most of the manual labor was performed by negro slaves. So it happens, that throughout the whole of this period, we find the Christian settlers pouring in petition after petition, to be allowed to hold slaves. Another feature which seems to have been a constant source of grievance, was the fact that alienation of property was not permitted.[1]

In an exceedingly rare work called *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia in America*, by the Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Egmont, the following entries appear in this connection:

On December 9, 1738, Oglethorpe writes: "A very saucy memorial was signed by one hundred and eighteen freeholders and landholders of Savannah town and the Northern division of the province, to obtain the use of negroes and the liberty of selling their lands as well. I made observation on their several characters."[2] The petition referred to is given in full in Force's collection[3] and also in Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, which was published in South Carolina in 1741.[4] Following it comes this comment by Tailfer: "The Jews applied for liberty to sign with us, but we did not think it proper to join with them in any of our measures."[5]

Following the refusal of the Trustees to comply with the prayer of the petition, there seems to have been a general

[1] See citations given above. Also *Journal of the Trustees*, &c.

[2] *A Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.* By the Right Hon. John, Earl of Egmont. Printed for Mrs. Mary De Renne as a memorial to her husband. (Wormloe, 1896.) The edition was limited to 49 copies, one of which is at the Lenox Library, N. Y. See, for above, p. 30.

[3] Force's *Historical Collections.* Vol. 1, p. 41, 42.

[4] Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., p. 42.

[5] Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., p. 42. Also Force's *Historical Collections*, 1, p. 42.

exodus from the Colony, by the Christian settlers as well as by the Jews. This abundantly appears from the entries in the records of the Trustees. In fact, Tailfer, one of the authors of the *True Narrative* was among the number. The work, though dedicated to Oglethorpe was printed at Charlestown, S. C. in 1741. On the title page the authors, Tailfer, Anderson and Douglas, describe themselves as "landholders in Georgia, at present in Charlestown, in South Carolina."[1]

On August 31st, 1740, the following entry appears in the Journal of the Trustees. "Dr. Nunez, Daniel his son and De Lyon's wife, all Jews, went off."[2]

The Jews, therefore, seem by no means to have been the only ones who left the Colony. In fact the Christian settlers appear to have led the way.

The desire to introduce negro slavery was a very general one at the time,[3] and had the entire support of the Christian clergy of Georgia, even that of Whitefield, the celebrated preacher. Under date April, 1741, the following entry appears in the Trustees' minutes: "It is stated that Mr. Whitefield is for allowing negroes into the Colony, and if examined, would declare his opinion that way."[4]

In the same Journal, May, 1741, is found the following: "Account of Isaac Nunez Henriques. Loss by cultivation came also. He and others complained that Mr. Thomas Jones refused to pay them the promised bounty on corn."[5]

In April 1741, the Trustees' Minutes contain a very curious entry. It reads "That all the Jews except one had left the Colony, which he heard was owing to a report, that

[1] Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., p. 42. Also Force's *Historical Collections*, 1, p. 42.

[2] *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, &c., p. 260.

[3] The only exception was in the case of the Saltzburgers, who, however, did not object to the principles of negro slavery, but opposed rather because they did not care to live in the same place with negroes. See Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten.*

[4] *Journal of the Trustees*, &c., p. 320.

[5] *Id.*, p. 270.

the Inquisition of Portugal had been ordered not to disturb them and they were supposed to be returning thither."[1]

From this it would appear that some such rumor was current at the time and the entry also shows that it was commonly known that most of the settlers like Nunez and De Lyon were natives of Portugal and refugees from religious persecution. The rumor, however, was probably without foundation, and certain it is, that it was not the true reason for the Jews' departure. Their reason being simply the same as the reason in the case of their Christian fellow settlers; the illiberal policy of the trustees and the more liberal commercial conditions in South Carolina. Nor is the entry that only one Jew remained quite correct, for in July of the same year we find again, that the Jews offered to sign a certain petition but were refused.[2] This, however, is followed by another entry which shows that the majority of Jews had left Savannah.[3] In July, 1741, the Journal recites "On the West side of Savannah lies the Township lots of the Jews, all gone to other Colonies except three or four."[4] But Tailfer's *Narrative* which contains a similar statement, follows it with the remark "That all the other settlers in that quarter had left as well, except one or two."[5]

Most of the Jews, as well as most of the Christian settlers who left Georgia at that period, seem to have gone to South Carolina. In 1750, when the Jewish Synagogue of Charlestown was founded, we find among its original members the names of some of the Georgia Colonists. Among others, David De Olivera, Mordecai and Levi Sheftall.[6]

Some went to the other Colonies, particularly to New York and Pennsylvania. Thus Isaac Nunez Henriques appears to

[1] *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees*, &c., p. 336.
[2] *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees*, &c., p. 356.
[3] *Id.*, p. 358. [4] *Id.*, p. 358.
[5] Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, p. 75. See also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 75, &c.
[6] See *Charleston Year Book*, 1883, p. 315, &c. Also Daly's *History of Settlement of Jews in North America*, 76, &c. Also *Occident*, vol. 1, p. 337, &c.

have gone to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and he and Joseph Simons of that settlement are named in the deed to the Jewish cemetery of Lancaster, as Trustees, in 1747. The name in the deed is misspelt, however, appearing as "Isaac Nunez Ricus."[1] This gentleman subsequently went to New York, where his name appears a few years later on the roll of freemen.[2]

But most of these emigrés returned to Georgia with a majority of the Christian settlers within a few months after their departure, while others, like Mordecai and Levi Sheftall, remained in Carolina for several years before returning.[3]

In the *Trustees' Journal* we find the following entry, dated October, 1741. "That there are various reports that negroes had at last been allowed in the Colony, upon which the Jews and divers others were preparing to return to the Colony."[4] Abraham Minis seems to have been one of those who probably remained throughout the entire period. In April, 1742, an entry records "Abraham Minis; paid 20 sh. for the loss of his boat."[5] In August of that year mention is made of a Dutch servant named Samuel Lyon.[6] In April, 1743, appears the confirmation of the "purchase of the lot of Daniel Nunez by Isaac Young."[7]

Certain it is, however, that most of the Jewish settlers returned to Georgia long before 1750, and in addition, many decidedly Jewish names appear in the list of persons to whom "Headrights" were granted between that date and

[1] Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, p. 83.

[2] See Civil Status of Jews in Colonial New York, by Max J. Kohler in *Pub.*, No. 6, p. 103; cf. *Ibid.* No. 2, pp. 48–49. Also paper on the Naturalization Act of 1740, by Dr. Hollander in *Ibid.* No. 5, p. 117.

[3] Both these gentlemen were among the founders of the South Carolina Congregation in 1750. See *Charleston Year Book*, 1883, p. 315, &c.

[4] *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees*, &c., p. 378.

[5] *Id.*, p. 418.

[6] *Id.*, pp. 450, 452. I am not sure whether this individual was a Jew.

[7] *Id.*, pp. 470, 472.

1760. Among others the following are found in this list: H. Myers,[1] Samuel Leon,[2] David Goodman,[3] Samuel Lyon,[4] Levi Marks,[5] Aaron Morris,[6] Moses Nunez,[7] Joseph Ottolenghi,[8] J. Revera,[9] D. Revera,[10] Benjamin Sheftall,[11] Mordecai Sheftall,[12] Leah Sheftall,[13] Levi Sheftall,[14] Samuel Simons,[15] David Vallaton.[16] With regard to the last named, it may be stated here, that he became one of the patriot soldiers in the American Revolution, and is mentioned in the Journal of Mordecai Sheftall. His name appears in various forms as David Valentonge, David Moses Valentonge, David Moses Vollaton and David Moses Valentin.[17] It is likely, perhaps, that he was the ancestor of the Valentine family, members of which subsequently played a prominent part in synagogue affairs in the South.[18]

Outside of Savannah there were Jews in various parts of the Colony. Mention is made of several residing in Eben Ezer with the Salzburgers. The German Lutherans also tried to cultivate the vine and among them likewise, a Jew seems to have been prominent in this regard, as appears from the following entry in the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius under date February 4th, 1742.

After dilating upon the difficulties of establishing the vine industry at Eben Ezer the writer remarks :

"A Jew who has moved to New York has indeed succeeded in raising a splendid number of good vines at two places, namely, in town and on his plantation. No one, however,

[1] *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George G. Smith. Appendix, p. 557. (1752.) [2] *Id.* (1754). [3] *Id.*, p. 575.
[4] *Id.*, p. 585.
[5] *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George G. Smith. Appendix, p. 587. (1752.) [6] *Id.*, p. 588. [7] *Id.*, p. 591.
[8] *Id.*, p. 593. [9] *Id.*, p. 596. [10] *Id.*, p. 596.
[11] *Id.*, p. 599. [12] *Id.*, p. 599. [13] *Id.*, p. 599.
[14] *Id.*, p. 600. [15] *Id.*, p. 602. [16] *Id.*, p. 605.
[17] See White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, pp. 340, 341. See also paper by present writer in *Jewish Comment* of Baltimore, Nov. 9, 16, 1900.
[18] See early volumes of *Occident*, 1–16, for references.

has authority to dispose of them, and it is believed that he is coming back after a while. In the meantime, all this property is being taken care of by one of the servants of the Trustee, at the owner's expense."[1]

Shortly thereafter, Jews are likewise mentioned on the occasion of the inroads of the Spaniards into Georgia. In Mr. Bolzius' diary appears the following entry dated July 24th, 1742: "Last night a ship full of English women and children, among whom was also a Jewish family, sailed back to Savannah."[2]

Among those to whom land was allotted at Sunbury in 1758 is found the name of Isaac Linder,[3] but there is nothing to indicate whether he was a Hebrew. Abraham Minis one of the original settlers died at Savannah in 1757.[4]

It has already been mentioned, that the Trustees were anxious to make Georgia a silk producing Colony. In this connection it may not be amiss to note the following curious entry in the Journal of the Trustees under date August 1741. It reads "That the samples of the silk, the product of Georgia was come to Sampson Levi, the Jew, to know the value of it in England in order to encourage the raising it in Georgia. That Captain Gough and many others of the City had seen it, and account it in high esteem and are of the opinion that the Colony should be duly encouraged to produce it."[5]

Later on, in 1751, the Trustees sent over Joseph Ottolenghi to superintend the silk industry in the Colony. Mr. Ottolenghi in all likelihood was the ancestor or related to several gentlemen of that name who figured prominently in

[1] Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten &c.* Vol. 2, p. 1855.
[2] Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 2, p. 1261.
[3] Smith *The Story of Georgia, &c.*, p. 46.
[4] See Mr. Sheftall's paper, 1 *Occident*, p. 381, &c.
[5] *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees*, &c., p. 364.
As to the progress of the silk industry, see also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 3, p. 352, 484-5, &c.

the early Synagogue records of both Savannah and Charlestown, particularly in the latter.[1]

In 1743 the records show an allottment of land to Simon Minis, and in 1753,[2] three hundred acres are given to Joseph Ottolenghe,[3] while additional allottments are made to Samuel Leon and to a Mr. Hirsh.[4] At a later date, as we shall find, Joseph Ottolenghi occupied a prominent position in Colonial affairs.

Any history of Georgia would be incomplete, without recording an event, which took place in 1750 and which has always been emphasized by the historians of that State. In that year, five gentleman all of different denominations, joined in forming a society for charitable purposes. That society is still in existence, and has wielded a most powerful influence for good in the early social history of the State. It has educated some thousands of orphans, and has at all times been regarded as the representative charitable organization of Savannah. Its name is the "Union Society" and it was so named because its five founders, though of widely different religious denominations, were all *united* on the broad ground of the brotherhood of man. The names of but three of the founders have been preserved. They are Benjamin Sheftall, a Jew, Peter Tondee, a Catholic, and Richard Milledge, an Episcopalian.[5]

[1] See *Charleston Year Book* 1883, p. 315.

In this volume also will be found an account of the building of the new synagogue at Charleston in 1840. In this connection it is stated that Mr. A. Ottolenghi "deposited the stone for his father in the new synagogue." This Mr. Ottolenghi was President of the Charleston Congregation 1842–45 and 1846–1850.

[2] White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, p. 32.

[3] *Id.* [4] *Id.*

[5] See *Minutes of the Union Society being an Abstract of Existing Records*, Savannah 1860, pp. 126, 113, 123. See also *Appendices* 1 and 2. Benjamin Sheftall is also praised as one of the founders of the Society in an address on the Union Society by Rev. Willard Preston 1833.

See also *Census of the City of Savannah together with Statistics* by

Benjamin Sheftall, we are informed, was a man of broad charity, and was also distinguished for his decided anti-slavery views.[1] He died at Savannah in 1767.[2] His sons Levi and Mordecai Sheftall became prominent in Revolutionary times and both were enrolled as members of the Union Society at an early date.[3]

It was doubtless due to the Jewish settlers, in part also that the Colony could boast of a library as early as 1751. From the nature of the collection it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were partly instrumental in establishing that institution, of which De Brahm writes in 1751, that it contained "a fine lot of books written in Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Dutch and Spanish." [4]

By far the most prominent character among the Jews of Colonial Georgia, appears to have been Joseph Ottolenghi.[5] He seems to have been consulted by the Governor and Assembly on several occasions, though at first only in connection with his office of superintendent of the silk industry in the Colony. Thus in 1754 Governor Reynolds writes to the Lords Commissioners "I have given orders with the advice of the Council to fit up the shell of a house which was lately built for the laying up of silk, but was never made use of, being ill calculated for that purpose, as Mr. Ottolenghi informs me, wherefore he says he has no further use for it,

Joseph Bancroft 1848, p. 45. Also *Historic and Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson, Boston 1899. pp. 27, 28.

[1] Markens, *The Hebrews in America.* p. 49.

[2] See Mr. Sheftall's paper in 1 *Occident* p. 381 &c.

[3] See paper on *Mordecai Sheftall* by the present writer in *Jewish Comment*, Baltimore, Nov. 9 & 16, 1900. Also Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers in the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, &c.* p. 363. Also Markens *Hebrews in America.* p. 72. Also *Minutes of the Union Society*, p. 58, &c.

[4] See De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia,* (Reprint Wormloe, 1849) p. 24. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 377.

[5] Since this paper was prepared, the writer has discovered that Joseph Ottolenghi (or Ottolenghe) can be regarded as a Jew by race only. He was born in Italy where his parents were engaged in the silk industry. Emigrating to England, both he and his wife

but it will make a tolerable good house for the Council and Assembly to meet in."[1]

In 1761 Governor James Wright, who was by far the ablest man who had ever been Governor of Georgia, "surrounded himself with a wise Council and made himself fully acquainted with the needs of the growing Colony." He issued writs of election and Joseph Ottolenghi was elected a member of the Assembly. He remained a member of the Assembly until 1765.[2]

Nor was Mr. Ottolenghi the only person of Jewish race to hold office in Colonial Georgia. In 1768, Moses Nunez appears to have been Searcher for the port of Savannah,[3] and a Mr. Lucena is mentioned as a Justice of the Peace.[4] Moses Nunez appears also to have held the office of Indian Interpreter for the Government and seems to have been an authority on Indian affairs generally.[5]

became converts to Christianity, joining the Episcopal Church. He was sent to Georgia originally as a missionary to the negroes, and incidentally to superintend the silk industry, which subsequently became his chief occupation. He is described as a man of culture and refinement, speaking English fluently and well versed in Oriental languages. See *Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes &c.* Herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger. Augsburg, MDCCLIII, pp. 50–61, &c.

[1] See Jones' *History of Georgia.* Vol. I, p. 469.

[2] *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People* by George Gilman Smith, p. 53.

Stevens *History of Georgia.* Vol. I, p. 445.

The History of Georgia, &c. by Hugh McCall, p. 285.

Jones' *History of Georgia.* Vol. II, p. 50.

[3] White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, p. 38. See also Smith's *Story of Georgia, &c.* p. 70.

There seems to have been no obstacle to Jews holding office in the colony. Although the Church of England was established, an act had been passed at an early date by which dissenters were not required to take an oath before the courts in any way objectionable to them, and there was no interference whatever with their religious privileges. See Smith's *Story of Georgia &c.*, p. 65.

[4] *Id.* Smith, p. 70.

[5] Vol. III, of *Georgia Historical Society Publications*, p. 252.

As early as 1765 his name is found appended to a petition of the inhabitants of Augusta, to Governor Reynolds, which sets forth their danger from the Indians and the defenseless state of the town.[1]

He retained the office of Indian Interpreter as late as 1779, and that of Searcher for Savannah as late as 1774.[2] His name appears frequently in the correspondence of Sir James Wright, the last royal governor of the province.[3]

To return to Mr. Ottolenghi, we find him repeatedly mentioned as a man of prominence in Colonial records and particularly in an exceedingly rare work printed privately some years ago for Mrs. De Renne, called "Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia."[4]

In 1757 Mr. Ottolenghi was appointed with Noble Jones, a Commissioner for repairing the public wharf of Savannah.[5] In July of the same year, he is named Commissioner for erecting forts for the defense of the province,[6] and then again to attend to the collection of a tax to defray Court expenses.[7] In 1760 he is named in a like capacity, the object being then to raise money for the militia in defense of the province,[8] and subsequently he, together with Sir Patrick Houston and Mr. Habersham is appointed Commissioner for building forts.[9]

The last public mention of him is found in June 1774, when he was probably an old man. His services for the

White's *Historical Collections*. pp. 601-2.

Jones' *History of Georgia*. Vol. II, p. 143. His salary as Indian Interpreter in 1773 was £50 per annum.

[1] White's *Historical Collections, &c.* 601, 602.

[2] Vol. III, of *Georgia Historical Soc. Publications*, p. 252.

[3] *Id. &c.*

[4] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, Wormloe, 1881. Like other De Renne Publications the edition is limited to 49 copies one of which is in the possession of Columbia College Library.

See pp. 115, 120.

[5] *Id.* p. 115. [6] *Id.* p. 120. [7] *Id.* p. 130.

[8] *Id.* p. 199. [9] *Id.* p. 208.

Colony must have gained him the respect of all his fellows. This last entry reads "An annuity of £100. is given to Mr. Ottolenghi, Superintendent of the late Filature at Savannah, in consideration of his long and faithful services in promoting silk culture in Georgia."[1]

In the annals of freemasonry in the Colony, Jews seem to have figured at an early date.[2] As Dr. Friedenwald has pointed out, both Daniel and Moses Nunez were master masons in Colonial times.[3] The society was organized by Oglethorpe himself,[4] and it appears that when in 1757 Gov. Ellis arrived from England, an address of welcome was presented by the order, and David Minis and Abraham Sarzedas appear to have been among those who waited on the Governor on that occasion.[5]

Abraham Sarzedas here mentioned was then probably but recently come to the Colony, for in 1753 his name appears on the roll of freemen in New York. He married Caty Hays, a daughter of David Hays, and their son David Sarzedas figures prominently as an officer of the Revolutionary army in Georgia.[6]

In religious affairs, it seems that from 1740 on, there was no regular synagogue in Savannah, and services were conducted at intervals only. It was due to the efforts of Mordecai Sheftall that the congregation was reestablished in 1774. At his own expense Mordecai Sheftall fitted up a room in his

[1] Jones' *History of Georgia.* Vol. II, p. 143.

[2] *Historic & Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson.

[3] See Note by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald in 8 *American Jewish Historical Soc. Publications*, p. 147 and authorities there given.

[4] White's *Historical Collections, &c.* p. 310.

[5] See Dr. Friedenwald's Note in *Pub.* No. 8, p. 147. See also Stevens' *History of Georgia.* Vol. I, p. 429.

[6] Additional authorities will appear in another paper by the present writer on *The Jews of Georgia in the American Revolution.*

I am indebted to Dr. S. Solis Cohen of Philadelphia, who some years ago permitted me to peruse a letter belonging to him which gives much interesting information concerning the Hays family and which contains information concerning Abraham Sarzedas and his marriage to Caty Hays.

residence and thenceforth services were conducted uninterruptedly, until the outbreak of the American Revolution dissolved the Congregation and called most of its members to duty in the field.[1]

It should be mentioned also that in 1773 Mordecai Sheftall donated a piece of ground to the Congregation for a burial ground,[2] and his name and that of his brother Levi appear almost constantly on the records of the Union Society in various departments of charitable endeavor.[3]

This brings our sketch to the end of the Colonial period. Reviewing that period, one fact has always been pointed out by the historians of the Colony, that while Oglethorpe and many of his successors had constant troubles from many of the other settlers, many of whom were the worst kind of malcontents, the Jews were at no time a source of anxiety or annoyance. As the Colony progressed, we find that the Jews contributed their fair share in its commercial, social and intellectual development. They contributed a founder to its most representative charitable organization and made a record of which their descendents may justly be proud.

No greater tribute perhaps can be paid to the memory of these early settlers than by using the language of Georgia's most distinguished historian. "In the record of the Jews of the Colony of Georgia there is no stain."[4]

[1] *Statistics of the State of Georgia* by George White, Sav. 1849, p. 101. See also Marken's *Hebrews in America*, p. 50, and the Sheftall Article in *Occident* 1, p. 381, &c.

[2] *Historic & Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson, p. 225. Markens p. 50, Sheftall Article, 1, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

[3] *Minutes of the Uaion Society*, 1750-1858, pp. 58, 34, 35, 32, 30, 22, 17, 104, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 112, 113, 123, 126, Also *Appendices*. See also *Address on the Union Society* by Rev. Willard Preston, 1833.

[4] Hon. Charles C. Jones, in Vol. I, *History of Georgia;* cf. *Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc. Pub.* No. 1, p. 12.

THE CINCINNATI COMMUNITY IN 1825.

By Rev. David Philipson, D. D., *Cincinnati, Ohio.*

In the month of January 1824 the few Jewish residents of Cincinnati had organized a congregation. At a meeting held some time thereafter it was resolved to build a suitable house of worship. Since there was not sufficient wealth in the young community to enable the congregation to undertake the work unaided, the small band of pioneers of Judaism in the then western section of the country determined to address the established Jewish congregations in the eastern cities of the United States and in England whence most of the Cincinnatians had emigrated, for help in the proposed undertaking. There has come lately into the possession of the writer the letter addressed to the elders of the Jewish congregation of Charleston, S. C. in July 1825 by a committee of members of the newly formed congregation in the Ohio metropolis. This letter is of more than passing interest; in truth, it possesses real value for the history of Jewish life in the United States. Its graphic sentences inform us concerning the conditions in Judaism at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century in what is now the great central West and South. There was not a congregation anywhere in this section outside of Cincinnati. It seems strange indeed to read in this letter that the journey from New Orleans to Cincinnati was so slight a matter that were there a house of worship in the latter place, many Jews would come from the southern city to spend the holidays there. This in the ante-railroad days! The letter is interesting further because we find in it an unexpected mention of that well-known figure in the New York Jewry of the eighteenth century, the Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas.

This communication, yellow with the wear of time, is the oldest manuscript document I have come across touching Jewish affairs in the pioneer Western community and is well worthy a place among the publications of our Society. It reads as follows :

To the Elders of the Jewish Congregation at Charleston:

GENTLEMEN :—Being deputed by our Congregation in this place, as their Committee to address you in behalf of our holy Religion, separated as we are and scattered through the wilds of America as children of the same family and faith, we consider it as our duty to apply to you for assistance in the erection of a House to worship the God of our forefathers, agreeably to the Jewish faith; we have always performed all in our power to promote Judaism and for the last four or five years, we have congregated where a few years before nothing was heard but the howling of wild Beasts, and the more hideous cry of savage man. We are well assured that many Jews are lost in this country from not being in the neighborhood of a congregation, they often marry with christians, and their posterity lose the true worship of God forever; we have, at this time, a room fitted up for a synagogue, two Manuscripts of the law, and a burying ground, in which we have already interred four persons, who, but for us would have lain among christians; one of our members also acts as שוחט It will therefore be seen that nothing has been left undone, which could be performed by eighteen assessed and six unassessed members. Two of the deceased persons were poor strangers and buried at the expense of the congregation, one of whom was brought to be interred from Louisville a distance of near 200 miles.

To you Gentlemen we are mostly strangers, and have no further claim on you, than that of children of the same faith and family, requesting your pious and laudable assistance to promote the decrees of our holy Religion. Several of our members are however well known both in Philadelphia and

New York—namely Mr. Samuel Joseph formerly of Philadelphia Messrs Moses & Jonas, and Mr. Joseph Jonas, the two Mr Jonas's have both married daughters of the late Rev[d] Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York. Therefore with confidence, we solicit your aid to this truly pious undertaking, we are unable to defray the whole expense, and have made application to you as well as the other principal congregations in America and England, and have no doubt of ultimate success.

It is also worthy of remark that there is not a congregation within 500 miles of this city and we presume it is well known how easy of access we are to New Orleans, and we are well informed that had we a Synagogue here, hundreds from that City who now know and see nothing of their religion would frequently attend here during holidays.

With sentiments of respect & esteem

We are
Gentlemen
Your obed[t] sev[ts]

S. Joseph Cha[N]
Joseph Jonas
D. I. Johnson
Phineas Moses

I Certify the above is agreeable to a Resolution of the Hebrew Congregation in Cincinnati

July 3 1825 Joseph Jonas. Parnas.

It remains only to be said that this appeal to the Charleston congregation was not in vain; both the congregation in Charleston and that in Philadelphia sent contributions to the building fund for the new synagogue as well as individuals in New Orleans and Barbados W. I. It was some time, however, before the necessary amount of money was collected. The synagogue was dedicated in the year 1836.

NEW LIGHT ON THE CAREER OF COLONEL DAVID S. FRANKS.[1]

By Honorable Oscar S. Straus, LL. D., *New York City.*

The honorable part played by Colonel David Salisbury Franks in the early diplomatic history of this country has, from time to time, been disclosed in the *Publications* of this Society.[2] But the documents given below, which will be allowed to speak for themselves, afford many interesting details respecting his career, not hitherto known. They have an added value in that they are largely autobiographical.

Having once served the country in a minor diplomatic capacity, he seems never to have abandoned the hope of procuring the opportunity to display his talents on a larger field. Washington has scarcely been inaugurated when Franks appeals to him for an appointment to a foreign post "in the Consul's Department for a Port of Europe," as he expressed it in an earlier application to the Continental Congress.[3] Accompanying this is the following account of his services:

Early in the Year 1774, I settled in Montreal with a small capital and a considerable Credit as a Merchant & was successful in Business. In the Spring of 1775 I suffered a short tho rigorous imprisonment on Account of my attachment to the Cause of America.[4] As soon as the Troops

[1] The papers in this article were procured from the Archives of the Department of State through the courtesy of Gaillard Hunt, Esquire.

[2] See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 76–86, No. 4, pp. 81–87.

[3] *Publications* No. 1, p. 81.

[4] See *Publications* No. 4, pp. 82 *et seq.*

under General Montgomery took Possession of Montreal I did every thing in my Power to promote their Success, & at one time advanced nearly to the Amount of Five hundred half Johanes in Goods & Money, which was afterwards paid to me in depreciated Paper. In 1776 soon after the unfortunate Attack on Quebec, General Wooster appointed me to the Office of Clerk of the Checque or Paymaster to the Artificers of the Garrison of Montreal, in which Capacity I was indefatigable in forwarding the public Works, & again advanced considerable Sums of Money, at times when there was not a farthing in the Military Chest to satisfy the demands of the Workmen. When the Northern Army retreated from Canada, I joined it as a Volunteer & continued attached to that army with some little intermission until the reduction of General Bourgoyne. In 1778, after the evacuations of Philadelphia by the British Army & on the arrival of Count D'Estaing I procured Letters of recommendation from the Board of War, from Mr Gérard & Mr Deane who came with the Count & joined him off Sandy Hook, I continued with that Admiral until he arrived at Rhode Island, when on the failure of that Expedition I returned to Philadelphia where my military Duty called me.

In 1779 I went a Volunteer to Charles Town & was an Aid de Camp in General Lincoln's Family 'till I was recalled to attend the Tryal of General Arnold.[1] In 1780, I was in Arnold's military Family at West Point until his Desertion to the Enemy, when a Court of Enquiry which I had solicited of the Commander in Chief, made the Report which accompanies this, and which His Excellency was pleased to accept and approve. In 1781, The Superintendent of Finance sent me with Dispatches to Mr Jay at Madrid & to Mr Franklin at Paris.[2] I continued

[1] This refers to the court martial of General Arnold for improper conduct while in command of Philadelphia. For Franks' testimony at this trial see *Publications* No. 5, pp. 158 *et seq.*

[2] See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 79–80.

employed in Europe until the next Year when I returned home with the Approbation of our Ministers, as well as of M^r^ Morris, for my Conduct while abroad. At my Return I found myself deranged from the Line of the Army but on Application to Congress I was reinstated for one Year only.[1] When M^r^ Jefferson was going to Paris, one of the Commissioners, for making a Treaty of Peace, he took me into his Family; we waited a considerable Time at Baltimore for an Opportunity to go to Sea (a British Squadron then guarding the Bay of Chesapeak) Congress in the mean while received information that a Treaty was already signed & this precluded the necessity of M^r^ Jefferson's embarking. I then solicited the Secretary for Foreign Affairs for an Appointment in the Consular Line, and procured a recommendation from some of the most eminent Merchants of my native Place. M^r^ Livingston mentioned me in a particular Manner to Congress; a Copy of his Letter and of that of the Merchants, are joined herewith.[3]

In the Winter of the Year 1784 Congress dispatched me to Europe with a Copy of the Ratification of the definitive Treaty which I had the Honor of delivering to our Ministers in Paris, where I remained ill of a Fever, which prevented me going to Holland in consequence of orders received from the Superintendent of Finance.[4] In 1785 I went at a considerable Expense to Marseilles to which Place M^r^ Barclay had named me Vice Consul,[5]

[1] See *Publications* No. 1, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The letter mentioned follows this document.

[4] The Superintendent of Finance was Robert Morris. See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 82–84.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 84. On November 11, 1784, in a letter to James Monroe, Jefferson wrote of Franks as follows: "Before my arrival here Mr. Barclay in consequence of the powers given him by his commission had made an appointment or two of consuls for some of the ports of this country: particularly of Franks for Marseilles. He is very anxious to be continued in it & is now there in the

I resided there 'till my little Stock of Money was nearly exhausted & in the Spring of 1786 I returned to Paris; for my first Voyage to Europe, as well as the second with the Ratification of the definitive Treaty, and for my residence at Marseilles as Vice Consul, I never received any emolument whatever. In fall 1786 M[r] Barclay was commissioned by our Ministers for making a Treaty of Peace and Commerce with the Emperor of Morocco & I was appointed his Secretary; previous to our departure for Africa it was judged necessary to send a Confidential Person to London to get the proper Instruments signed by M[r] Adams & to fix the mode of drawing Bills of Exchange &c, with that Gentleman; I offered myself & executed what depended on me in the two journeys I made to London with Zeal and dispatch. After M[r] Barclays return to Spain from Morocco where he had compleated a Treaty with the Emperor I was sent by him with it from Madrid to Paris & from thence by M[r] Jefferson to London to get M[r] Adam's signature to it. In the month of March following I embarked by order of our Ministers for America, bearer of the Treaty of Morocco & had the Honor of delivering it to M[r] Jay at New York in the Month of May; with me I also brought Testimonials of the approbation of our Ministers abroad as appears by their public Dispatches.[1]

Thus I have devoted Eleven Years of the best Part of

exercise of his office. If I have been rightly informed his services & sacrifices during the war have had their merit and I should suppose Congress would not supersede him but on good grounds. I promised him that I would communicate his wishes to some of my friends that his pretensions might not be set aside for want of being known." Ford's *Jefferson's Works*, IV, pp. 8–9.

[1] See *Publications* No. 4, p. 85. January 30, 1787 in a letter to Madison, Jefferson wrote: "You will see Franks and doubtless he will be asking some appointment. I wish there may be any one for which he is fit. He is light, indiscreet, active, honest, affectionate." Ford's *Jefferson's Works*. IV, pp. 365–6.

my Life to the Service of my Country, in all which time, I am bold to say that I have ever been actuated by a disenterested Zeal for her Honor & Prosperity.—

DAV^{D} S. FRANKS.

New York 12th May 1789.

Copy

PHILADELPHIA, 5th June 1783.

SIR:

I take the Liberty in quitting the Office of Foreign Affairs to request you to lay before Congress the enclosed Letters, the one from M^{r} Franks, the other from a Number of respectable Merchants recommending him as Vice Consul in some of the Ports of France, which I have hitherto kept back in Hopes that Congress would have formed some general Arrangements. As he certainly has Claims to the Attention of Congress, as he acquitted himself with great Propriety of the Commission with which he was charged in Spain, and as it is desireable to place the Business of the United States as much as possible in the Hands of Americans, whose Acquisitions of Wealth or Knowledge are in some Sort added to the general Stock, I flatter myself Congress will see no Impropriety in making the Appointment, or at least in recommending him to M^{r} Barclay, if it should be within his Department. The places he has thought of are either Bourdeaux, Nantz or the french windward Islands.

I would just intimate to Congress that he is now entirely unpaid and unemployed, that he has lost much Time in attending upon M^{r} Jefferson, in whose Suite he was to have gone to Europe. I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's

His Excellency Most ob^{t} h'ble Serv^{t}

The President of Congress.–

(Signed) ROB^{T} R. LIVINGSTON.

As nothing came of this first application to President Washington, he addressed the following more specific request to him, a month later:

SIR:

When I had the Honor of addressing you my last Letter, in delicacy to M^r^ Barclay I did not mention my desire to succeed him as Consul General in France, he being still in Possession of that Office. I now have his Consent to apply for it, and next to being employed as I have already discribed, that would be my Object.

I take the Liberty of notifying it to you, praying that you will pardon this Intrusion & believe me to be, with the greatest Veneration,

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble Servant

DAV^D^ S. FRANKS

NEW YORK 11^th^ June 1789.

As this appears to have proven equally unavailing, he next has recourse to Jefferson, just appointed Secretary of State:

NEW YORK, 8^th^ February 1790.

SIR:

I should have been among the first to congratulate you on your Arrival in your native Country, had I not with many others, expected the Pleasure of seeing you in New York long before this time; I now pray you with much sincerity to accept of my Congratulations on the Event. I wrote last month to M^r^ C. Griffin requesting that he would mention to you the wish I had, to be in your Family as your private Secretary, till some further Provision could be made for me. As the Secretary of State is allowed as many Clerks as he pleases to employ, I should be glad to accept of the Salary of a common Clerk, to act as your private Secre-

tary, & to be subordinate to you only. That Salary, with the Pay of the Interpreter of the french Language (if you thought proper to give me the Office) would enable me to live & to do honor to some Debts which I owe abroad.

I have now been, with some small intermissions, ever since the Year 1776, in the Service of the United States; & in general I believe I am in Possession of the good Opinion of some of the most respectable Characters which composed the old Congress & I hope I stand well with many of the present federal Legislature—several of these Gentlemen have often assured me that they would take the first Opportunity which might offer to promote my Views: I mention these things, only as they may serve to shew you that I have conducted myself in such a Manner, as not to merit a forfeiture of that Place in your good Opinion, which I once had reason to flatter myself I possessed.

The vexations & Losses which I have sustained since my return home, have reduced me to the last Modicum of what little Property I once was master of. One Man in Philadelphia failed with a considerable Sum of Money of mine in his Hands, & another now detains from me what would have discharged every Debt I owed in Europe. This will account for my not cancelling my pecuniary obligations to you, and I do assure you Sir, that notwithstanding I have been a most exact Oeconomist; I have not had a Dollar to spare from the daily & necessary Expenses of living, Cloathes, &c.

Thus I have fairly & honestly exposed my Situation & wishes to you, well knowing that your usual Candor will guide you in your Determination with Respect to them. If after making such Enquiries concerning me, & receiving such information as you may think will justify acceding to my Views, you may depend on my Zeal & Gratitude. As to the future Provision which I have mentioned before, I shall have the Honor of communicating my Wishes to you at some moment you may have to spare, after your Arrival

here. In the mean time if I can be useful in making any Preparations for you at New York, as I am well acquainted with the Place, I now make a disinterested tender of my Services & am with much Respect & a proper Sense of past Acts of kindness, Dear Sir,

Your most ob^{t} humble Serv^{t}

DAV^{D} S. FRANKS

The Honorable
THO^{S} JEFFERSON ESQ^{R}

There is nothing to show that Jefferson, who held Franks in such high esteem, was able to accede to his request, and he thereafter disappears from view as a seeker after office.

SAMPSON SIMSON.

By Myer S. Isaacs, *New York.*

Sampson Simson, the founder of Mount Sinai Hospital, was an American by birth, and of the third generation of Americans. His grandfather, Joseph Simson, was a native of New York; his wife was named Rebekah. We have not been able to trace their ancestry. Joseph Simson was evidently a man of scholarly attainments. It appears from Mr. Simson's Will that his grandfather had corresponded with Dr. Kennicott of Oxford, and Dr. Cooper, President of King's (now Columbia) College. He had also communicated with Jews in China, conducting his correspondence in the Hebrew language. His name appeared on the roster of Captain Ellison's Company, the Orange County Regiment of New York Volunteers, organized about 1738.[1]

Solomon Simson, father of Sampson Simson, was born in 1722, married Sarah Mears in 1768 and died at Yonkers, in Westchester County, New York. He was brother and partner of Sampson Simson the elder, a prominent merchant and citizen of New York, took part in local affairs and was a member of the Chamber of Commerce. Their firm was engaged in the importation of beaver coating and other articles—"At Simson's in Stone Street". Sampson Simson the elder, says Mr. John A. Stevens, Jr., in his Colonial Record of New York Chamber of Commerce,[2] "was greatly respected and one of the prominent men of his time. He was a remarkably pious and conscientious Jew, celebrated for punctuality and strict honesty. He died of consumption

[1] Thos. Jones' *History of the Revolutionary War*, I, 615.
[2] New York, 1807, pp. 163, 4.

August 1773. The following year, Solomon as Executor, called in all the outstanding claims of the partnership." It has already been noted in the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society[1] that Sampson Simson (the elder) elder) was the owner of several vessels engaged in the foreign trade—the Hardy, the Sampson, the Union and other ships. And he was prominent on important Committees of the Chamber of Commerce—on Arbitration, Coinage and Fisheries. When, during the Revolution, there was a difference of opinion in the Congregation Shearith Israel as to whether the Synagogue should be closed temporarily, because of the British occupancy of New York, the views of the patriotic minister, Rev. Gershom Seixas, prevailed, and he and a number of the old families migrated to Connecticut where they could worship without fear of disturbance. Mr. Simson moved to Danbury, Conn., where Sampson Simson was born in 1780.

Sampson Simson, the subject of this sketch, attended Columbia College, then located in Murray Street and College Place, and graduated in 1800. That he continued interested in his Alma Mater would appear from the legacy bequeathed in his Will. He studied for the Bar and was admitted in 1802. He did not practice many years; his tastes did not run in the direction of an active public life, and besides, he met with an accident which disabled him for some months. Patriarchal by inclination, he preferred the career of a country gentleman, the centre of a small but devoted family. He never married. His sister, Mrs. Rebecca Isaacks, with her two children Moses and Jochebed (or Jessie) constituted his family. Moses Isaacks was of very retiring disposition, being in wretched health and physically disqualified from active participation in affairs. Jochebed married Rev. Ansel Leo, the well-known and respected Reader of the Greene Street Synagogue (formerly Elm Street) New York—Congregation B'nai Jeshurun.

[1] *Publications*, No. 2, p. 83.

Mr. Simson survived his sister and her children. The sole inheritor of his wealth, a grand-nephew of whom he was unduly proud, Sampson Simson Leo, is no longer a member of the Jewish body.

Mr. Simson's professional life was brief and uneventful. He studied law with Aaron Burr and for some years had an office with Messrs. J. L. & H. L. Riker at 150 Nassau Street. His personal friend and Executor, John H. Riker, was deeply attached to Mr. Simson, despite the disparity in their years. There were some traditions as to Mr. Simson's regular visits to the office, where he had a favorite chair; but, beyond conferences as to his private business and as to the prosecution of benevolent plans in which he was interested, there are no recollections to be noted. I made Mr. Simson's acquaintance during the visits frequently interchanged with my father. Mr. Simson resided in the early fifties at No. 208 Thompson Street near Bleecker—my father dwelling at 669 Houston Street, a couple of blocks away. They were together quite often, their common topics being religious and philanthropic. My father was his ally in the foundation of the charities Mr. Simson financially promoted; and, together they went over the names of reliable men as Directors. I can recall Mr. Simson's appearance quite vividly. He affected the old fashioned costume, sometimes wearing knee breeches and buckles. He was above the average height, very stiff and upright in his bearing. His hair was white and worn in long wavy locks. His spectacles were of great size. His habitual walk was in short, quick steps—and he carried a silver headed cane, upon which he would lean when seated. His voice was not musical and he rarely laughed. He was exacting and even tyrannical—would not endure criticism or contradiction. As he was quite wealthy and of benevolent instincts, he was, no doubt occasionally imposed upon. There were men he did not like and he let them perceive it quickly. He wrote a good hand; his signature was of the John Hancock style.

His property at Yonkers was a large domain, extending from Palisade Avenue on the west to the Saw Mill River on the east. He resided in the Old Homestead, spending the summer there, after his removal to New York City. He retained in his household several old family servants, some of whom had been slaves, and at one time was in danger because of a fire taking place through the carelessness of one of these servants. His sister roused the inmates in time and he pardoned the offender and retained him in his service.

He was precise in his religious views, rose very early and spent some time at his devotions. He was so particular that he had his Matzos baked in his own house. He was interested in prison reform and in the politics of Westchester County and especially in the religious and charitable movements in the vicinity of Yonkers.

He was a great admirer of Andrew Jackson and preserved a stick presented to him by the President. He was captain of a regiment of Militia, but it is not known that he took part in active service. In the practice of law he was always considerate towards colored people. He was specially interested in agricultural affairs; new machines attracted him. He was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, and was a friend of its respected minister, Rev. J. J. Lyons. Occasionally, he was pretty positive in his expression of difference as to the management of Congregation affairs. He was fond of repeating his recollections of the great men of his early days. There does not appear to have been any effort to preserve these memoirs.[1]

When he returned to New York at quite an advanced age, he made efforts to carry out some of his ideas, which were really Utopian. He could not win the multitude to his views.[2] He was always interested in the Holy Land and ready to welcome the messengers that occasionally visited

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Simeon N. Leo for these particulars of Mr. Simson's life.

[2] *The Asmonean*, January 1857.

America to carry to Jerusalem the offerings of pious donors. There was one messenger whom he particularly affected, Abraham Nissen (Wolfsohn) who was engaged in the establishment of mechanical, agricultural and educational enterprises. He corresponded with Mr. Leeser and Warder Cresson, in connection with the affairs of the Holy Land.

He died January 7th, 1857. His funeral was very largely attended by the representatives of the various societies and congregations of New York.

Mr. Simson's memory is mainly connected with Mt. Sinai Hospital of which he was undoubtedly the founder. Despite the tendency to deny recognition to men whose ideas have resulted in good work, and who died too soon to be counted among the prominent people of to-day, Mr. Simson's services in the cause of charity have been appreciated. Prior to his initiation of the movement for the Hospital, there was no Jewish institution of this description in the State.

The Hospital was originally called the "Jews' Hospital in New York" and was located on 28th street near 8th avenue on land presented by Mr. Simson. Shortly after its organization, the Hospital received a bequest of $20,000 from Judah Touro, and its erection was begun and progressed until the beautiful house was ready for its beneficiaries.

Mr. A. S. Solomons tells the story of a visit to Mr. Simson in February, 1852, as one of a committee of young men who gave a charity ball at Niblo's Garden (on Broadway between Prince and Houston streets), the proceeds, $1,034, being handed to Mr. Simson as the first money to be put to immediate use for hiring a temporary hospital building. The incorporation of the Jews' Hospital preceded, but a few days, the receipt of this donation.

The corner-stone of the Hospital was laid November 25, 1853.

Among those associated with Mr. Simson in the furtherance of his benevolent work were Rev. S. M. Isaacs, John

I. Hart, Dr. Simeon Abrahams, Benjamin Nathan, John M. Davies, Henry Hendricks, Theodore J. Seixas, Isaac Phillips, John D. Phillips, Louis Levy, Lawrence Myers, Samuel Cohen and Philip Levi, who were trustees named in the articles of incorporation of the several institutions he established. These were, fifty years ago, among the best known citizens of New York professing the Jewish faith; and the descendants of several of these gentlemen are members of this Society and otherwise concerned in benevolent and educational work.

Two of the societies founded by him continue to exist—the Mount Sinai Hospital, now one of the most successful and important institutions in the United States, and the North American Relief Society for Indigent Jews in Jerusalem, Palestine, whose work has been quietly and unostentatiously done and whose influence has been exerted in the direction of a better understanding of the duty of Israelites towards their brethren in the Holy Land. The policy has been very earnestly maintained that while the poor should be assisted, relief should not take the form of almsgiving; where that has been indispensable, it was to be limited to the dependent classes—the aged, the widow and the orphan. An abuse of benevolence has been perpetuated in Palestine—the distributors of charity sent from all parts of the world have been inclined to claim a share for themselves, and for persistent recipients not in need, but enabled by this means to abstain from labor.

Mr. Simson appreciated the necessity of a change, and thought it could be accomplished through the medium of the society of which he was president until his death. But the ability of the Society was abridged by straitened means. There was a very strange blunder in his dictation of a bequest of $50,000 in favor of the Palestine Society—the only contribution beyond membership fees he had made. On the death of Mr. Simson's nephew, during

whose life the income was set apart for his support, the principal became available and was claimed by the Society. An action was maintained by Mr. Simson's executor, Mr. John H. Riker, for the construction of the Will and otherwise to determine whether the bequest should be paid or had failed. There were two trials; in the first instance, the decision was in favor of the Society and was affirmed by the General Term of the Supreme Court. The judgment was reversed by the Court of Appeals, but, after an extended argument, a new trial was ordered. The second trial was of uncommon interest. Mr. Louis Marshall and Mr. Adolph L. Sanger appeared for the Society, and Mr. John E. Parsons and Mr. Samuel Riker, for the executor and the heir at law. The issues turned on the intent of Mr. Simson. Judge Patterson decided the contention in favor of the heir at law, and this was affirmed by the General Term in 1891. This trial was of unusual interest because of the testimony offered to sustain the bequest. The Society was "for the *relief* of the indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine." Under the Will, the legacy was for the benefit of a Society for the *amelioration* of the condition of the Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine. The ancient distinction between *charitable* and *benevolent* trusts was stringently maintained by the Court. Rev. Drs. Gottheil and Kohut and the Treasurer of the Society testified in its behalf and stated the theological and the practical ideas maintained by the Jewish body as to charity and benevolence.

An interesting incident developed in the trial was the statement as to Judah Touro's bequest of $50,000 for the purpose of founding in New Orleans a Society similar in its objects to the New York Society. Mr. Simson seems to have been struck by the language of Mr. Touro's Will wherein he expressed "my earnest wish to co-operate with Sir Moses Montefiore . . . in endeavoring to *ameliorate the condition of* our unfortunate brethren in the Holy Land."

The other Societies founded by Mr. Simson and for which he made some provision, did not maintain an independent existence. Many years ago, the "Jews' Orphan and Indigent Asylum" transferred its property to The Hebrew Benevolent & Orphan Asylum Society which was superbly doing the great work of charity and especially of helping the orphans. And more recently, the lots at Yonkers belonging to the "Jewish Theological and Scientific Institution," were conveyed to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The surviving Directors of the two societies thought they were justified in thus carrying out, as fully as the conditions allowed, the benevolent intentions of Mr. Simson.

He was a very pious man. He had "the New England conscience" as it is termed; but he was an old fashioned, uncompromising orthodox Israelite whose ancestry had been emancipated from the Ghetto of the Middle Ages, and in whose blood there was no trace of racial subordination to surrounding circumstances. He was an American—a man—and firm, unyielding, conscientious in his religious views. The combination of a public spirited citizen with the conformist Jew, was not rare in his days. There was no cause that appealed in vain to his generosity; but to aid a church, whether Protestant or Catholic, or a Synagogue by whomsoever founded, gave him intense pleasure. When the "Beth Hamedrash Hagadol" needed the sum of $4500 to pay for the new Synagogue in Allen Street, Mr. Simson on the advice of his friend, Mr. John I. Hart, Vice President of the Hospital, gave $3000.[1] Jointly with Bernard Hart, he purchased for the Congregation Shearith Israel a piece of land adjoining the old Synagogue on Mill Street.[2]

[1] *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, p. 66.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 6, p. 127.

My thanks are due to Hon. N. Taylor Philips and Mr. Max Kohler for references to sources of information as to Mr. Simson's career.

In his rare and valuable book entitled "The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament," (1770) Dr. Benj. Kennicott, Keeper of the Radcliffe Library of Ox-

ford congratulates the public on "information lately sent me by Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of Kings College, New York, America, that Mr. Sampson Simson, a very worthy and benevolent old gentleman of the Jewish persuasion living in that City is in possession of a manuscript of very great antiquity, containing the whole Hebrew Bible, which he probably would send to England for my use if I properly requested it. This I have done accordingly." I am indebted to Professor Richard Gottheil for the opportunity to make this citation.

THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR OF 1840 AND THE JEWS OF AMERICA.

By Joseph Jacobs, Esq., *New York City.*

In a measure, modern Jewish history may be said to date from the Damascus affair of 1840, when a monk named Father Thomas, with his attendant, mysteriously disappeared, and thirteen Jews of that ancient city were seized and examined under torture on the charge of having put him to death in order to use his blood for ritual purposes.

The sole basis for such a charge was an alleged confession extorted by torture from a Jewish barber named Negrim, who told a quite improbable tale, implicating the richest Jews of Damascus. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of them, when cast into prison, withstood every attempt to make them "confess," the Moslem governor of Damascus expressed his belief in their guilt, and reported to Mehemet Ali that they were worthy of capital punishment.[1]

It happened that at that moment the eyes of all Europe were directed towards Syria, which had fallen into the power of Mehemet Ali, the ambitious Viceroy of Egypt, through his successful war against his Suzerain, Sultan Mahmud II, in the preceding year. The mysterious disappearance of Father Thomas and the accusations thereupon brought against the Jews of Damascus became the subject

[1] Jost's account in *Geschichte der Israeliten*, X, 345–381, is very full and clear. J. G. Lowenstein's *Damascia* and two pamphlets, *Persecutions contre les Juifs de Damas*, and David Salomons' *An Account of the Recent Persecution of the Jews at Damascus*, give contemporary accounts.

of universal comment throughout the European press, and sides were taken, dictated partly by the anti-semitism largely latent in mid-Europe, and partly by the political tendencies of the writers.

The Jews of Western Europe felt themselves arraigned at the bar of history equally with their unfortunate brethren of Damascus, who had immediately appealed to the Rothschilds at Paris and London, to Amsterdam Jewish notabilities and to the heads of the Constantinople community. The blood-accusation assailed their honor as Jews, and it was felt that every means should be taken both to repel the charge and to rescue the unfortunate victims of it. The important thing to notice is that concerted action was taken by Jews of different nationalities. For the first time in Jewish history since the Fall of Jerusalem Israelites of different nations took counsel and action together for general defence against a common peril. The latent national consciousness sprang into overt existence and the New Israel of modern times was born. That most recent outcome of this consciousness, known as Zionism, can in large measure be traced back to it; before 1840 what corresponded to Zionism was mainly religious and only unconsciously national.

There was one circumstance which should be specially mentioned, as it was the direct cause of this international action on the part of the Jews. The chief promoter of the persecution of the Jews at Damascus was the French consul there, the notorious Count (if he was a count) Ratti-Menton. Now it was the policy of France at the moment to support the claims of Mehemet Ali to the possession of Syria while England was engaged in consolidating the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Russia and Prussia, which before the end of the year 1840 was to wrest Syria from Mehemet Ali's hands and restore it to those of his Suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. Here I would remark in passing that, but for this action of England, Syria would still be conjoined to Egypt and would be, at the present moment, administered by English officials.

The political situation at the beginning of 1840 rendered the policy of the Western Jews in their action on behalf of their Damascus brethren rather complicated. It would not be desirable for the English Jews, as represented by Sir Moses Montefiore, to act alone since England was pursuign a policy directly opposed to the ambitions of Mehemet Ali. Again it would be doubtful policy for the French Jews, as represented by M. Cremieux, to drive the furrow alone, as it would be difficult for the French Government to bring any pressure on their ally, the Egyptian Pasha, or to repudiate the action of their accredited agent, Ratti-Menton. After several *pourparlers*—which consumed more than three months—a meeting was held at London by the Board of Deputies of British Jews on June 15, which was attended by M. Cremieux from Paris, and at which it was decided that both he and Sir Moses Montefiore should go to Egypt to demand the release of the Damascus Jews from the Viceroy. It was a characteristic point that the disunion of the Christian powers should have led to the concerted action of the Jews. When at last Montefiore and Cremieux started on July 21 on their eventful and ultimately successful journey, there was scarcely a synagogue in the whole of Europe in which prayers were not offered up for the success of their mission.

Meanwhile news of the dire events at Damascus had reached the shores of America, and the Jews of this country prepared to join in, for the first time in their history, with the exertions of their European brothers, on a matter affecting the honour of all Jewry. It is somewhat difficult to account for the lateness of their action. So far as I can ascertain, it took about 30 days for the European mails to reach America,[1] yet it was not till Aug. 17, more than two months after the Board of Deputies meeting in London, that a meeting was held in New York with J. B. Kursheet as

[1] Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, p. 330.

Chairman and Theodore J. Seixas as Secretary[1] which passed resolutions expressing their horror at the treatment of the Damascus Jews and calling upon the President of the United States to intervene on their behalf. Five days later—time went more leisurely in those days—this resolution was sent to Washington, whence almost by return on Aug. 26th Mr. John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, replied informing the New York Jews that already on the 14th inst. a letter had been sent to Mr. Gliddon, the U. S. consul at Alexandria, ordering him to do all in his power to help redress the wrongs of the Damascus Jews. Mr. Forsyth, possibly for reasons of diplomatic etiquette, since the communication had not yet been received by the person addressed, forbore to mention that an even more pressing missive had been sent on the 17th to Mr. David Porter, U. S. Minister at the Sublime Porte. In this letter, communicated by Mr. Max J. Kohler to the last volume of the *Publications* (No. 9, p. 153) occurs the remarkable statement that an intervention to a Mahommedan power on behalf of Jews might most appropriately come "from a friendly power whose institutions, "political and civil, places upon the same footing the wor-"shippers of God of any form or faith, acknowledging no "distinction between the Mahommedan, the Jew and the "Christian."

On Thursday evening, Aug· 27th, the Jews of Philadelphia held in the vestry of the Mikve Israel Synagogue a memorable meeting at which were present not alone the chief Jews of the city but several representative Christian clergymen, Dr. Ducachet, Rector of St. Stephens, Dr. Ramsay, a Presbyterian minister, and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, all of whom ultimately spoke. The meeting appears to have been summoned by Hyman Gratz, but the most important figure at it and the orator of the evening was undoubtedly Isaac Leeser, then in the height

[1] See *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, pp. 141–4.

of his powers. He took the bold course of repudiating the blood-accusation by the simple argument that as both Christianity and Islam were derived from Judaism, if the last advocated ritual murder, the daughter-religions would equally be guilty of the same practice. He contrasted the position of the Eastern Jews with that of the Israelites of this happy land and declared in no uncertain tones, that while the Jews of every land felt themselves true citizens of the lands in which they dwelt, they still retained full sympathy with their brethren in faith throughout the world, especially when charges were brought against them which affected the honor and good fame of their religion. In a moving peroration Leeser expressed the hope that the sufferings of the Damascenes might not be in vain if they helped to move the mighty of the earth to recognize the injustice of their ways towards the Jews and thus aid the coming of the Kingdom of Peace and brotherly love. A series of resolutions was carried expressing horror at the atrocities, hope for the success of the two envoys and calling upon the U. S. Government for help in ensuring it, and on the 31st, again after four days' delay, these resolutions were sent to Washington, whence on the next day Mr. Forsyth replied in similar terms to those he had used to New York and enclosing once more his letter to Mr. Gliddon at Alexandria.

Isaac Leeser's address and the resolutions adopted by the meeting were printed in pamphlet form.[1] This publication is so rare—only one copy being known to me and that, appropriately enough, being preserved in the Leeser Library —that a transcript of the address has been made for preservation in the archives of this Society. The resolutions and the correspondence with the Secretary of State, so far as it is not already given in the publications of this Society, are presented as an appendix to the present paper.

[1] "Persecution of the Jews in the East, containing the proceedings of a Meeting held at the Synagogue Mikve Israel, Philadelphia, on Thursday evening, the 28th of Ab, 5600 (27th Aug., 1840)." Philadelphia, 1840. 8vo. pp. 30.

At the Philadelphia meeting reference was made to action that had been taken both at New York and Richmond, Va., and it would appear that still another meeting was held at the latter place on September 4, with the Rev. A. H. Cohen as chairman, Messrs. G. A. Myers, Samuel Marx and Samuel H. Myers as members of committee, and Mr. Jacob Ezekiel, father of the well-known sculptor, as secretary, in which a resolution of thanks to the President for the action he had taken was passed and forwarded to Washington. Fifty-nine years later, Mr. Jacob Ezekiel, still living and a member of the American Jewish Historical Society, contributed to the eighth volume of its *Publications* the correspondence which passed on this occasion (p. 144).

As is well known, the action taken by the American Jews proved to be unnecessary. Cremieux and Montefiore had landed at Alexandria on Aug. 4th, interviewed Mehemet Ali the next day, and, after much intriguing, had extorted from him on the 28th a promise to set the prisoners free, which took place on Sept. 6, at least as regards nine of them, four having succumbed to the horrors of imprisonment and torture. The very news of the action of America, whether by President Van Buren, or by the Jews of New York, Richmond and Philadelphia, could not by that time have reached Europe, where it nevertheless created great interest and was duly recorded at length by Jost in his very full account of the affair in the admirable tenth volume of his *Geschichte*, still in many ways unsurpassed for fullness and sobriety of treatment of the external annals of Israel in modern times. Characteristically enough Graetz, in his treatment of the affair, entirely omits all reference to the action in America, though it is tolerably clear that he had before him Jost's account.

But though the action of the American Jews had no immediate effect, it was not for naught that they had taken a worthy share in the universal protest of Israel against the blood-accusation which affected the honor of all Jews.

When the next occasion arose for united action in the Mortara case, even distant California took part in the universal protest of all Jewry, and in the Russian and Roumanian atrocities of the past 20 years the Jews of America have been expected to take their share in any diplomacy or action that was needed, and have nobly fulfilled that expectation. Their part in the Damascus affair was thus the beginning of the diplomatic or international phase in the history of the American Jews, and in this sense, I venture to think, deserves somewhat fuller attention than has hitherto been given to it.

APPENDIX.

A.

Preamble.

The Israelites residing in Philadelphia, in common with those in other places, have heard with the deepest sorrow, that in this enlightened age the absurd charge of their requiring human blood at the celebration of their Passover has been revived, and that an accusation of this nature having been brought against their brethren at Damascus, and the Isle of Rhodes, has been the cause of a most cruel persecution being waged against them by order of the Mussulman authorities, instigated, as it is feared, by one or more of the European residents.

They have learned also with unfeigned horror, that several prominent men at Damascus have been seized by their ruthless persecutors, and tortured until some confessed themselves guilty of a crime which they never committed; and others died under the most exquisite barbarities, which ignorant bigotry, urged by the love of plunder and the hatred of the Jewish name, could invent.

Although the Israelites of Philadelphia, living in a land where, under the blessing of Providence, equality of civil and religious rights so eminently prevails, are not in any danger of persecution for opinion's sake; still they cannot rest while so foul a blot is cast upon their ancient and sacred faith, a faith on which both the Christian and the Mahomedan religions are founded, and which is essentially a law of justice, of mercy, and benevolence; and they would deem themselves traitors to brotherly love and the rights of outraged humanity, were they to withhold their expression of sympathy for their suffering brethren, who writhe under un-

merited tortures, and languish in loathsome dungeons, and to offer their aid, if practicable, to have impartial justice administered to them under the present and any future occasion. The Israelites of Philadelphia have therefore met in public meeting and

Resolved, That they experience the deepest emotions of sympathy for the sufferings endured by their fellows in faith at Damascus and Rhodes, under the tortures and injuries inflicted on them by merciless and savage persecutors; and that, while they mourn for those upon whom such cruel enormities have been heaped, they cannot but admire the fortitude evinced by many of the sufferers who preferred enduring every torture rather than subscribing to the falsehoods dictated by their vindictive enemies.

Resolved, That the crime charged upon the Israelites at Damascus, of using Christian blood for their festival of redemption from Egypt, is utterly at variance with the express injunction of the Decalogue and other parts of the Pentateuch, and incompatible with the principles inculcated by the religion they profess, which enjoins them "to love their neighbour as themselves," and "to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God."

Resolved, That they will co-operate with their brethren elsewhere in affording pecuniary aid, if required, to relieve the victims of this unholy persecution, and to unite in such other measures as may be devised to mitigate their sufferings.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be accorded to the consuls of those European powers, who made efforts to stay the arm of persecution, and who by this deed deserve well of the cause of suffering humanity.

Resolved, That this meeting highly appreciates the prompt and energetic measures adopted by our brethren in Europe, and elsewhere, for the promotion of the object of this meeting, and the noble undertaking of Monsieur Cremieux and Sir Moses Montefiore, in coming forward not only as the champions of the oppressed, but also as the defenders of the Jewish nation; and this meeting expresses the hope that the God of Israel will shield and protect them, and restore them to their families in the enjoyment of unimpaired health.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions having been read, were unanimously adopted.

B.

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, APPOINTED AT THE MEETING OF ISRAELITES IN PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 27TH, 1840.

PHILADELPHIA, 31st August, 1840.

To His Excellency the President of the United States,

SIR.—The subscribers were appointed a committee of correspond-

ence, on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants of Philadelphia, at a meeting convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the persecution of the Jews in the East, on the evening of the 27th instant. In furtherance of this appointment, it has become their duty to address to your Excellency the following resolution adopted at the said meeting:

Resolved, That in conjunction with our brethren of other cities, a letter be addressed to the President of the United States, respectfully requesting him to instruct the representative of the United States at Constantinople, and the United States Consul in the dominions of the Pacha of Egypt, to co-operate with the Ambassadors and Consuls of other powers, to procure for our accused brethren at Damascus and elsewhere an impartial trial; and to urge upon the Emperor of Turkey and the Pacha of Egypt to prohibit the use of torture in their judicial proceedings; and further, that he be requested to instruct the representatives of this country to urge the governments to which they are accredited, to exert their influence for the same purpose.

In adopting this resolution, the idea was entertained, that the moral influence of the Chief Magistrate of the United States would be, under Heaven, the best aid we could invoke for the protection of our persecuted brethren under the Mohammedan dominion, and we hasten, therefore, to seize the first possible moment after our appointment, to present the above to your consideration, not doubting that your own sense of humanity will impel you to comply with our requests.

With sentiments of regard, and cordial wishes for your health and happiness, we subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servants,

JOHN MOSS, *Chairman.*

DAVID SAMUEL,
ISAAC LEESER,
J. L. MOSS,
L. J. LEVY,
} *Committee of Correspondence.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 2d SEPTEMBER, 1840.

JOHN MOSS, *Chairman.*
DAVID SAMUEL,
ISAAC LEESER,
LYON JOSEPH LEVY,
JOSEPH L. MOSS,
} *Committee.*

GENTLEMEN.—The President having referred to this Department your communication of the 31st ultimo, containing a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Jewish inhabitants of Philadelphia,

requesting him to instruct the representatives of the United States, to co-operate with those of other powers in behalf of their accused brethren at Damascus, and elsewhere, &c., I have the honour to refer you to the accompanying correspondence with a Committee of the Israelites of New York. I deem it proper to add in reference to that portion of the resolution which you have communicated, relating to the use of torture, that particular instructions were given to our Minister at Constantinople, to direct his efforts against the employment of such barbarous means to extort the confession of imputed guilt. I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH.

SOLOMON HEYDENFELDT: A JEWISH JURIST OF ALABAMA AND CALIFORNIA.

By Albert M. Friedenberg, B. S., *New York City.*

This sketch of Judge Heydenfeldt's life is the result of the investigations prosecuted by Mr. Max J. Kohler in his valuable and interesting paper, "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement, II."[1] Heydenfeldt's services to the cause of Abolition are there briefly adverted to.

Solomon Heydenfeldt was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1816. Of German-American extraction, his family was identified with the Sephardic community for generations.[2] Heydenfeldt's sister was the first wife of Dr. Abraham Jacobi of New York, and his brother was a lawyer and politician in Alabama and California.[3]

When Solomon Heydenfeldt was but eight years old, his father died, having suffered serious financial reverses. He was a teacher of ancient languages and had been completely ruined by the defalcations of an agent who held his power of attorney.[4]

Heydenfeldt studied Greek, Latin and Mathematics at a college in Pennsylvania; but he left before being graduated

[1] Cf. *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, 1901, pp. 50–51. My thanks are due to Mr. Kohler for his interest and assistance at every stage.

[2] Cf. Voorsanger, *Chronicles of Emanu-El*, San Francisco, 1900, p. 15, note. Of the family history in Charleston little or nothing seems to be known. It is believed that Heydenfeldt's ancestors emigrated from Germany early in the 18th century.

[3] On Elkan Heydenfeldt, cf. my short note on his political career in *Jewish Comment* (Baltimore, Md.), January 31, 1902.

[4] Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California*, San Francisco, 1887, part I, p. 79; *Pacific Jewish Annual*, No. 1 for 5657, pp. 62–65.

and returned to Charleston where he took up the study of law in the office of the celebrated Chancellor De Saussure's son. On the South Carolina period of Heydenfeldt's life, we have no further facts. He left the State for the new settlements of the Southwest to win fame and fortune. In 1837, then, he emigrated to Alabama to take up active legal practice.

He came to Alabama in the early settlement of Tallapoosa county, going by way of Montgomery, where he had been admitted to the bar. He was then 21 years old, married shortly thereafter and practised law in Alabama and Georgia. He was judge of the Tallapoosa county court in 1840 and then moved to Russell County.[1]

At the session of the Alabama Legislature, December 4, 1842, an election was held to fill a vacancy in the office of County Judge for Mobile, "one of the best paying offices of the State." On the first ballot, Heydenfeldt received 19 out of 129 votes, while Cuthbert, who was ultimately successful, received but 13. Heydenfeldt was unsuccessful because he was not well-known and lacked the necessary political support.[2]

In 1849 Heydenfeldt addressed a communication on the subject of slavery to Governor Chapman opposing further importations of negroes into Alabama.[3] These views did

[1] Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men*, Montgomery, 1872, p. 514. In commenting on Heydenfeldt, the author says: "He was a man of very fair ability and excellent character." In Garrett, *Reminiscences*, Atlanta, 1872, p. 784, Solomon Heydenfeldt, of Crawford, Russell County, is mentioned as a member of the Alabama bar (1845). Living sources say that he was universally held in high esteem.

[2] Cf. Garrett, supra, pp. 220–222.

[3] Cf. Kohler in *Publications*, supra; *Am. Hist. Asso. Report* for 1897, p. 978. In Thos. M. Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, in the second reference, the pamphlet is thus described: "Heydenfeldt, Solomon, *Lawyer*. A communication | on the | subject of slave immigration | addressed to | Hon. Reuben Chapman, | Governor of Alabama, | by S. Heydenfeldt, Esq. | Montgomery: | M'Cormick &

not accord with the popular opinion of the time and place and probably caused him to leave the State. While opposed to slavery on principle and unhesitatingly condemning the means used to further the cause, Heydenfeldt was a strong "States' Rights" man and believed that the Southern States would solve this problem, without interference by the National Government, according to justice and sound public policy.

In the spring of 1850, Judge Heydenfeldt left Alabama for California; arrived in San Francisco, he opened a law office in the old City Hall.[1] His "excellent habits, business assiduity, generous disposition, broad legal knowledge and dignified presence made him a man of mark in that era of restlessness and won for him a fine civil practice."[2]

At the second session[3] of the California Legislature, held at San Jose in January 1851, the members in each branch were almost evenly divided in their political views, although the Democrats had a slight majority on joint ballot. These presented Heydenfeldt as their candidate for the United States Senate to succeed John C. Frémont, whose term expired March 3, 1851. He had been named as the Democratic caucus nominee, but some Northerners refused to acquiesce in their party's choice because Heydenfeldt sympathized with the Southern cause. The other candidates were Frémont and King. After 142 futile ballots had been taken, Heydenfeldt's name was withdrawn, and John B. Weller was named as a Democratic compromise candidate. But the

Brittan, printers. | 1849. | 8 vo. pp. 7. Double columns. Proposes an amendment to State Constitution to prohibit the 'further immigration of slaves into the State of Alabama.'" This pamphlet is naturally very scarce: I know of no extant copies.

[1] *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra.

[2] Shuck, supra, p. 80.

[3] Cf. references in notes 1 and 2, supra; *American Jews' Annual*, No. 4, 1888, p. 103. This notice, however, is confused and erroneous; Kohler in *Publications*, supra; Hittell, *Hist. of California*, 1897, v. 4, p. 96.

legislature adjourned without electing a Senator, and at the next session Weller was elected, Heydenfeldt managing his campaign.[1]

It had been generally understood that Heydenfeldt, then only thirty-five years old, would again be the Democratic candidate for Senator. But he was removed from the field of active politics and nominated for Justice of the Supreme Court of California by the Democratic convention, May 21, 1851, on the first ballot over W. D. Fair.[2]

The election took place on Sept. 3, 1851, and the entire democratic ticket was successful. The official canvass showed that Heydenfeldt received 24,428 votes as against 20,670 cast for Robinson, his opponent.[3] He was chosen to succeed Chief Justice Hastings, and among his associates on the bench was Henry A. Lyons,[4] a Jew of Philadelphia, who had been elected an Associate Justice by the legislature, Dec. 22, 1849, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. While Lyons was the first Jewish judge in California, Heydenfeldt was the first Jew who received the suffrages of his fellow-citizens for high judicial office. The salary of the office was $10,000 per annum at this time.[5]

Before taking the oath of office, Heydenfeldt, in the fall of 1851, argued a criminal cause which illustrates the conditions of the time. The jury, on the defendant's second trial for murder, notified Heydenfeldt that seven stood for con-

[1] Cf. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1890, v. 7, p. 225, note. Stephen J. Field, at this time a member of the Assembly, was one of Heydenfeldt's most zealous adherents.

[2] Shuck, supra, p. 85; W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California*, 1849–1892, Sacramento, 1893, p. 12. For this second reference, I am indebted to Max J. Kohler, Esq.

[3] Davis, supra, p. 15.

[4] He came to San Francisco via New Orleans. By Act of Feb. 1, 1850, he was to go out of office four years after Jan. 1, 1850. He resigned March 31, 1852. Cf. K. M. Nesfield in *Overland Monthly*, 2d series, v. 25, p. 418.

[5] Act of March 5, 1850. Cf. *California Blue Book*, 1891, Sacramento, same date, pp. 249–253, and later numbers.

viction and five for acquital, "but that if it pleased *him* they would agree upon a verdict of manslaughter." The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.[1]

Heydenfeldt took his seat on the Supreme Court bench, January 1, 1852, to serve for a term of six years. He wrote the opinion in the first case argued and determined at the January 1852 term.[2]

After serving two months, Heydenfeldt left California to visit Alabama (March 1852), where his family continued to reside. By a resolution of the Legislature (February 1852), he vacated his office temporarily and Governor Bigler was empowered to appoint a substitute. "The governor offered the place left by Heydenfelt to Burnett, who declined, deeming the act unconstitutional." Alexander Wells, however, accepted. When Heydenfeldt returned, the constitutionality of the act was tested on an agreed case.[4] Chief Justice Mur-

[1] Shuck, supra, p. 80. The date of this trial was Nov. 14, 1851. Shuck speaks of this as Heydenfeldt's "*only* criminal case." From a letter of Hon. Julius Jacobs to the present writer, cf. infra, it will be seen that Heydenfeldt argued a criminal action in early life in Alabama. Hence, Shuck's statement is erroneous.

[2] In 2 California 17. His decisions are contained in volumes two to eight of the California Law Reports. He was an indefatigable and most industrious worker. Of forty decisions, taken at random from these volumes, Heydenfeldt wrote 21; the other judges 10 and 9 respectively.

[3] This resolution provided that Heydenfelt should be permitted to absent himself from California "for a period necessary for the complete restoration of his health, not exceeding six months." Quoted in Hittell, supra, p. 131. In reference hereto, Hittell says: "A great abuse of legislative discretion had gradually sprung up in the practice of granting leave of absence to public officers and particularly judges." Ibid. Indeed, in those days it seemed as if no public official could complete his term without having been relieved of his duties for longer or shorter periods, by legislative authority.

[4] Act of March 27, 1852. In the California reports, the date of Heydenfeldt's return is given as April 6, 1852, so that his absence was but a little more than one month in duration. The decision in *People* v. *Wells*, 2 Cal. 198, was handed down at April 1852, term. Cf. Bancroft, supra, p. 221.

ray decided against Wells on the argument during Heydenfeldt's absence: Judge Anderson found in his favor. As the temporary absence of the third judge made a decision in this question of law impossible, "Wells remained upon the bench until Heydenfeldt's return, when Murray's opinion was concurred in, and his occupancy by appointment during a vacancy occasioned by the voluntary absence of a judge who had not resigned, was declared to be unconstitutional." It will thus be seen that Heydenfeldt's decision turned the scales in his own favor: if this had not been the case, his seat on the Supreme Court bench would have been declared vacant.[1]

As a judge, Heydenfeldt was conspicuously successful. His decisions are well considered and his opinions are fine examples of cogent legal reasoning and condensation. In his time, weighty problems had to be adjudicated, e. g., the Mexican grants, land titles from early times, Vigilance Committees, etc. His holdings, with few exceptions, are still recognized as law.[2] He assisted in drafting a new

[1] Bancroft, supra; *People* v. *Wells*, supra. It was held that "a constitutional officer cannot be divested of his office, otherwise than as prescribed by the constitution of the State. The absence of a judge from the State is not such a vacancy as can be supplied by the executive, under legislative authority. An Act of the Legislature, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Judge of the Supreme Court during the absence of one of the Judges from the State is unconstitutional." (Reporter's note of the case). It was claimed that the Legislature had no power to fetter Heydenfeldt's rights of travel, the office of judge being a "property" and hence an incorporeal hereditament. That, if Heydenfeldt was impeached for wilful neglect of duty, then the question of forfeiture of his office by absence could be argued, was a dictum pronounced by the Court. Anderson's dissenting opinion is lengthy and logical in its reasoning.

[2] Heydenfeldt's decision that the California gold mines are the property of the State, and that the policy of the Legislature permits all persons to work for these metals (*Stoakes* v. *Barrett*, 5 Cal. 36; *Irwin* v. *Phillips*, Ibid. 140), was expressly disapproved and later overruled. Cf. *Moore* v. *Smaw*, 17 Cal. 199; Hittell, supra, p. 182. Later in life, Heydenfeldt was a well-known authority on

system of equity and jurisprudence for California, and was, in the language of Justice Field, a member of a bar composed of remarkable men, not to be exceeded by any other in ability, learning, eloquence and literary culture.

At the beginning of the January 1856, term of the Supreme Court, Murray "claimed that by virtue of his appointment in 1851, and election in 1852, he was the senior justice in commission. Heydenfeldt, who was elected in 1851, was entitled to the place, but not liking to have a quarrel, yielded his right."[2]

In this year, by a vote of 16 to 9, the California Assembly again granted Heydenfeldt four months' leave of absence.[3] The other judges were willing to transact business alone, but later, when Terry had been imprisoned for stabbing a man in an altercation, "the business of the court came to a stand-still and the public interests suffered very seriously."

mining law. Cf. Shuck, supra. His decision (1854), that the Chinese were like the Indians and hence incompetent to testify against white men, was afterwards condemned. Hittell, supra, p. 112. It may be mentioned here that the personnel of the court was often changed in those early days. Between 1850 and 1860, the entire bench was several times completely reorganized.

[1] Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California*, pp. 109, 124.

[2] Bancroft, supra, p. 221. Hence, Heydenfeldt never was Chief Justice. Cf. Voorsanger, supra. Bancroft refers to Murray as "a man utterly abandoned in character, immoral, venal, and thoroughly corrupt." Cf. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, San Francisco, 1888, p. 605. For an account of Heydenfeldt's services in the Democratic Convention of 1854, cf. Davis, supra, p. 34.

[3] Hittell, supra, v. 3, p. 452; v. 4, p. 182. Bancroft, *History of California*, v. 7, pp. 224, 225 and note. Heydenfeldt is said, by Bancroft, to have been that judge who was *least* deserving of censure!

[4] "During this period no business was transacted in the Supreme Court, as Judge Heydenfeldt had departed for the East and Europe on March 3d [1856], and was still abroad, and there was no quorum of the judges at liberty in the State. The Court resumed its session on August 25th, with Justices Murray and Terry on the bench. Heydenfeldt did not return until in October." Davis, supra, p. 69, note. From this it will be seen that Heydenfeldt did not return to California within the stipulated period.

Finally, January 6, 1857, Heydenfeldt resigned his office (his term on the Supreme Court bench would have expired on January 1, 1858), and went back to his private practice because the salary paid[1] was inadequate for the support of his family and the numerous relatives who depended on his charity and generosity. P. H. Burnett was appointed to fill the vacancy: in the fall of 1857, Stephen J. Field was elected his successor.

In April, 1858, Heydenfeldt defended a Jew named Newman, who had been tried and convicted in a lower court for violating the Sunday law, and who was then in prison, having failed to pay the fine imposed. This man had sold clothing on Sunday in Sacramento, and his arrest was probably dictated by an anti-Jewish feeling, prevalent at the time.[2] This is the first of a long series of decisions which declares that, while Christianity is a part of the common law and while Sunday is the day of rest for those who accept that faith, the followers of other forms of worship, if strictly observant of their own religious practices, are exempt from obeying the usual provisions of such laws. Heydenfeldt rendered transcendent services[3] here. He obtained a decision in his client's favor, the Court declaring that the act, under which the prisoner had been convicted, was unconstitutional. It was regarded as an intention "to enforce, as a religious institution, the observance of a day held sacred by the followers of one faith, and entirely disregarded by all the other denominations within the State."[4] It was declared that the Act was passed "in aid of the devotions of those

[1] By Act of the Legislature, April 21, 1856, the salary was reduced to $6,000 per annum. Cf. *California Blue Book*, Shuck, and *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra.

[2] Cf. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, p. 372; Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold*, Baltimore, 1855, p. 54; Capron, *History of California*, Boston, 1854, p. 156.

[3] Ex parte *Newman*, 9 Cal. 502. Field's dissenting opinion is now followed. Cf. Ex parte *Andrews*, 18 Cal. 680.

[4] 9 Cal. 502 at p. 505.

who profess the Christian religion;" and as government is the exercise of civil, not of religious authority, the decision of the lower court was reversed.[1]

At the time of the Edgar Mortara episode, the Jews of San Francisco held an indignation meeting in Music Hall, Saturday evening, January 15, 1859, "for the purpose of publicly expressing their feelings upon this grievous wrong." Heydenfeldt was the presiding officer. "On taking the chair the learned judge said that the Mortara abduction was a direct attack upon the principles of humanity and civilization—an act of tyranny, which, in the very nature of things, must be adverse to the common sentiments of both Catholics and Protestants. . . . We are uniting our voices to those of the civilized world in forming a grand public opinion against this invasion of the rights of humanity, of liberty, and the social relations of mankind. Our Government may not have, according to the law of nations, the material power to stretch forth its hands with sufficient potency, rescue the child and restore him to the arms of his parents; but we have another power, which is irresistible, the power of public opinion, which, if excited properly in this instance, the Mortara case will be the *last* of the kind that the world will ever see." The meeting had been called in recognition of "the peril which attaches to the social and religious condition of all those antagonistic to the Catholic faith involved in such a precedent."[2]

A lengthy address to the Democratic partisans was published in the San Francisco *Herald*, July 27, 1860. It was signed by 65 persons, 22 of whom were Federal officials and of whom 8 or 9 were interested in government contracts.

[1] It may be of interest to note, in this connectiou, that California has had no Sunday laws since 1883. The repeal of this act may have been brought about, to some extent, by Heydenfeldt's early efforts. Cf. Deering, *Codes and Statutes of California*, San Francisco, 1886, v. 4, pp. 84, 85. California Penal Code, §§ 299, 300, 301.

[2] Quoted in *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra, pp. 27–29. The pamphlet, from which these facts are taken, is now very scarce.

Judge Heydenfeldt inspired the drafting of this letter which defended the action of the seceding branch of the national convention, and supported Breckinridge and Lane.[1] At the meeting held the next day, Heydenfeldt was one of the secretaries. At the Breckinridge Democratic State Convention, held at Sacramento, June 11, 1861, he was a member of the committee on Resolutions which was opposed to the use of force, and which, while in favor of preserving the Union by constitutional means, believed that the Confederacy should be recognized in the last analysis and openly censured Lincoln's policy and tariff measures.[2]

Heydenfeldt withdrew from open practice in the courts in 1862, because he felt that he could not subscribe the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty, required by law as a condition precedent to argument in every case. He claimed that the oath which he had taken on his admission to the bar in Alabama was sufficient for any American, and refused a retainer of $35,000 in consequence, for, "when principle was at stake, money was no object to him." As a Southerner, he had conscientious scruples to this act; and when it was finally repealed, he had established a lucrative practice as advisory counsel and never pleaded in court again.[3]

With Felix Adler, of New York, and Julius Jacobs, he founded the first free kindergarten in San Francisco. Above all, he was a man of wide philanthropy. At the Democratic

[1] Davis, supra, p. 113; also p. 126.

Bancroft, supra, p. 220 ff. Heydenfeldt is there spoken of as "a noted Democratic politician." Dr. Voorsanger speaks of Heydenfeldt as "a passionate Secessionist."

[2] Davis, supra, p. 165. The resolutions were said to contain *his* sentiments and convictions. At any rate, Heydenfeldt was the leading spirit in the Convention.

[3] Shuck, supra, p. 85; Kohler in *Publications*, supra. *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra, p. 62; and cf. Ex parte *Gregory Yale*, 24 Cal. 242.

[4] *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra; Dr. Voorsanger, writing to me, claims that the San Francisco kindergarten system is the most extensive in the world. For a long time it was officered and exclusively maintained by Jews. In a letter to the present writer,

State Conventions of 1862 (August 6th), and 1871 (June 20th), Heydenfeldt was a member of the committees on Resolutions.[1]

Solomon Heydenfeldt died September 15, 1890, in San Francisco. He left a widow and ten children, five of whom were born during his first marriage. His eldest son, Solomon Heydenfeldt, Jr., was a lawyer. His nephew, Walter H. Levy, was judge of the Superior Court in San Francisco, and one of the most brilliant lawyers of California.[2] He was a distant relative of Judah P. Benjamin, the families having intermarried in some way.[3]

Hon. Julius Jacobs says: "Perhaps no one in this community did more real charity than he. It was not for publication, however.

"I am told by a gentleman who lived in Montgomery, Alabama, in the early 40's, that upon one occasion Judge Heydenfeldt, then but a very young man, reluctantly defended a man who was charged with murder. He received a certified check for $5,000, which he endorsed and handed to the wife of the accused whom he had cleared, with the remark, 'you have a large family and probably need the money more than I do'.

"I have known him to clothe and educate children of poor families, which fact I learned not from him but from those he had benefited."

[1] Davis, supra, pp. 188, 298. He was a member of the first San Francisco Stock Board, but not a speculator, apparently. Bancroft, supra, p. 267, note; ibid., p. 668. Cf. *Heydenfeldt* v. *Hitchcock*, 15 Cal. 514. The Judge's title to some real estate was held to be defective here. As regards his connection with Terry's unsuccessful assault on Judge Stephen J. Field, see Geo. C. Gorham, *The Story of the Attempted Assassination of Justice Field by a former Associate on the Supreme Bench of California*, privately printed, p. 288 ff.

[2] Heydenfeldt left much real estate. The report of the litigation over his will may be found in In re *Heydenfeldt*, 106 Cal. 434; *Heydenfeldt* v. *Jacobs*, 107 Cal. 373; *Hellings* v. *Heydenfeldt*, Ibid. 577.

[3] "The late Judge Heydenfeldt was a descendant of a glorious line of scholars, . . . he was the foremost lawyer of his time on the Pacific Coast. Whatever were his faults in the flesh, he was a Titan in spirit, an enormous storehouse of learning with a mind superbly fitted for the exalted position he occupied . . . . He was a righteous judge, whose decisions were well-nigh infallible." Danziger, "The Jew in San Francisco," in *Overland Monthly*, 2d series, v. 25, p. 405. Cf. *American Hebrew*, v. 44, No. 10, p. 188 (Oct. 10, 1890). Dr. Voorsanger officiated at the funeral.

Judge Heydenfeldt's services to his Commonwealth have not been forgotten. He was an observant Jew, and his work was such as to make his name one worthy to stand with the most prominent in the roll of honor of American Jewry.

THE JEWS IN CURAÇAO.[1]

According to Documents from the Archives of the State of New York.

Contributed by G. Herbert Cone.

At a meeting of the Society held in New York in December, 1897, some interesting and valuable notes gathered from the unpublished archives of the State of New York by Mr. G. Herbert Cone on the above-entitled subject were presented, but as they were without introductory matter or comment, it was determined that they should be presented again at the present meeting, with the necessary explanatory statement. It was fortunate that this course was adopted, for, since then, a valuable little booklet on the same subject by the Rev. Joseph M. Corcos, of Curaçao, has come to hand, entitled, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews in Curaçao.*[2] This seems to contain nearly all available data, except these original, hitherto unpublished, records from Albany, so that the two contributions complement and supplement each other in a marked degree. This coincidence illustrates anew how unlimited the field of the historian is to-day, when unpublished records in Albany are found to contain valuable original records illustrating the history of the Jews of Curaçao. While letting the

[1] *Reported in December*, 1898, *by Committee on Dutch Records, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Chairman; report prepared by Max J. Kohler, Secretary.*

[2] The full title is, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao from the day of their Settlement to the Present Time*, by Rev. Joseph M. Corcos, Minister of the Congregation "Mikveh Israel," Curaçao, 1897.

Albany documents speak for themselves in their entirety in an appendix hereto, we will draw upon both of these sources for an outline of the principal events in the history of the Jews in Curaçao.[1]

Years ago, Dr. Fischell, in his *Chronological Notes of the History of the Jews in America*, noted the fact that in 1650 Jews from Holland established a colony at Curaçao. This is still the earliest authenticated date in the history of the Jews of Curaçao. Mr. Corcos says (p. 7): "As early as the year 1650, sixteen years after Curaçao had been taken possession of by the Dutch Government, twelve Israelitish families were brought hither for the promotion of commerce and welfare of the island, namely: de Meza, Aboab, Pereira, de Leon, La Parra, Touro Aboab Cardoze, Jesurun, Marchena, Chaviz, Oleveira, Henriquez Cutinho. These twelve families were provided from the Council of Holland with letters to the then Governor, Mathias Beck, ordering him to give them sufficient land, and to provide them with negroes, horses, cattle, implements, etc., in order that they may pursue agricultural occupations which had been neglected by the Dutch settlers, who found the contraband trade with the Spanish Main more lucrative and more to their taste. On their arrival, a large tract of land was granted to them in the outskirts of the city, about two miles distant from the fortress, now 'Willemstad', which to this day is known as the 'Jewish Quarter'. It is very strange, however, that, although the Jews enjoyed equality of rights as citizens in the Mother country,[2] in Curaçao they had to accede to some restrictions; for, besides being looked upon as foreigners, they were not even permitted to be within the fortress later than nine o'clock at night; and if anyone infringed this

[1] Compare Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, pp. 9, 14; *Publications* No. 2, pp. 2, 94, 95, 96, 99, 103; No. 3, pp. 18–20, 117, 118, 142; No. 9, pp. 149–150.

[2] This is not quite accurate. See Judge Daly's work, p. 4, and *Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York. Publications* No. 6, p. 81.

rule and was found there after that hour, he was liable to severe punishment. This, of course, is due to the great fanaticism that existed at that time, of which even Curaçao was not free. In this uncomfortable position this handful of Jews remained for the period of four years."

We have now reached the point where Mr. Corcos' records were scanty, and he can devote but a few lines to the interesting data included in Mr. Cone's contribution, for the reason that these facts were not available for him. Turning now to Mr. Cone's Albany excerpts (annexed hereto as Appendix I), we find that the directors of the Dutch West India Company wrote to Gov. Stuyvesant in March, 1651, that they were seriously considering the advisability of abandoning Curaçao because the island was not a source of revenue to them, when they attempted a further experiment with it, and made a contract with a Jew, Jan de Illan. "He intends," they write, "to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate the land, but we began to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must, therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accommodate him within proper limits, and in conformity with the conditions of the contract." On April 4, 1652, they wrote once more to Stuyvesant, and refer to later privileges granted by them to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, "who is preparing to go there with a large number of people." The directors were still very half-hearted and distrustful, as is shown by their saying: "Time must show whether we shall succeed well with this nation; they are a crafty and generally treacherous people, in whom, therefore, not too much confidence must be placed." For the first time this grant of privileges, dated February 22, 1652, has been brought to light, and the grant is of prime interest and importance because it is the earliest charter of privileges

looking to religious liberty and toleration, granted to the Jews in the New World, which has yet been made public. It is not apparent that the earlier privileges, given to the arrivals of 1650, were granted to any body collectively, nor that they granted civil or religious rights: at any rate, they do not appear to be extant. Liberal grants of privileges were made by this Charter of 1652, including the right of selection of lands, exemption from taxes for ten years, etc. It is curious to notice that the fact that a Jewish settlement was being formed, was recognized even to this extent, that it was expressly provided that "whereas among these colonists some Christians may be found, it shall not be permitted to the patroon to compel them to any labor on the Sabbath of the Christians", nor shall anyone labor on that day. It is interesting to compare these concessions with the ones unearthed by Mr. Lucien Wolf, granted some years later, probably to Jews in Surinam, which he describes as the first attempt at Jewish emancipation.[1] A further letter, written in December, 1652, indicates that de Illan and his companions were clearing the island of logwood and trading with this article and horses to the Caribbean Islands. Measures to stop this commerce in the interest of New Netherland were taken by the directors. The next year, leave was refused to the Curaçao Jews to purchase negro slaves to be employed in agriculture there, from the same motives. Further restrictions on the trade of the Jews in Curaçao were imposed, but it is amusing to read, in correspondence of the year 1656, how the Dutch authorities in Curaçao sought to excuse themselves for entering into and sanctioning commercial dealings with an enterprising Jewish trader named Isaack de Fonseca, from Barbadoes, contrary to and in the face of the prohibitions which the company had established to uphold its own trade monopoly. In fact, de Fonseca's specific proposals looked to establishing free

[1] See "Some Early American Zionist Projects", paper by Max J. Kohler in *Publications* No. 8, pp. 77–8, 91–96, reprinting Mr. Wolf's remarks, as well as this grant.

trade between the two islands. The company first made de Fonseca some unsatisfactory counter-proposals, but he declined these, and was about to proceed with his vessel to Jamaica, when they agreed to accept his terms. A letter of complaint from Stuyvesant, written in December, 1659, indicates that the Jews in Curaçao managed, after all, to induce the company to let them purchase negroes, and Stuyvesant demands that the company give to the Dutch settlers in New Netherlands, "if not more, at least the same privileges, and demand the same terms as from the usurious and covetous Jews."

But to return to Mr. Corcos' work: This colony would doubtless have failed, had not numerous refugees, expelled from Brazil, seasonably appeared. Of them Mr. Corcos well says: "The large number of Israelites that came from Brazil and the immense quantity of wealth they brought with them, caused the old prejudices against the Jewish nation to disappear. They were allowed to take up their abode in any part of the country they wished; and later, they not only possessed the best houses in the city, but also lands, and almost the entire commerce of the Island was in their hands. Thus the youthful community grew in prosperity and affluence from year to year; and to this day their direct descendants, of whom the present community consists, hold a prominent and distinguished position, both socially and commercially."

In 1656 the cemetery laid out by the original twelve settlers was turned over to the new community, and Mr. Corcos gives a long list of early settlers, compiled from the tombstone-inscriptions, which may be of service in identifying Jewish settlers here and elsewhere in other connections (pages 10–13). A congregation was formed and a synagogue secured the same year, 1656, their treatment having been more liberal than that experienced by their co-religionists in the sister-colony, New Netherland. Mr. Corcos traces, in some detail, the history of the religious community, includ-

ing the erection of a new Synagogue in 1692, and the departure of a number of the Jewish inhabitants, about 90 in number, for Rhode Island in 1693, which body is supposed to have included the families of Touro, Gomez, Molina, De Meza Casseres, Rodrigues Da Costa, Cohen Henriquez and Luis. Another contingent, principally Italian Jews, who had at one time been members of the Jewish colony in Cayenne, left Curaçao in this same year, 1693, for Venezuela, and established a colony there at Tucacas, (pp. 18–19) which community, some years later, in 1720, requested the Curaçao congregation to purchase a Sepher Thora for the latter's synagogue. Even the New York Shearith Israel congregation appears, in 1720, to have solicited a contribution for their new synagogue from the Curaçao community, and a similar request was made by the Newport Congregation some 36 years later.

A Jew named David Senior, seems to have been appointed to important civil office in 1722 by the Governor, Noah du Fay, and the Jews appear to have enjoyed equality of rights with other citizens. Some schisms or dissensions between the congregation and a wing of heterodox dissenters were terminated summarily by the orders of the Prince of Orange in 1750. Mr. Corcos sets out at length, the various details in the congregational and communal life of these settlers down to our own day, which are beyond the scope of the present report; they may be profitably consulted by any one interested, in this interesting little work.

In conclusion, it should be noted that there were vessels trading between New Amsterdam and Curaçao as early as 1657,[1] and that this trade, conducted principally by Jews in

[1] In Vol. 12, p. 99, of Vanderkemp's translations of Dutch records (MS.), we find a copy of an invoice of goods exported from Curaçao to New Netherland, the invoice being dated December, 1656, and consisting of jewelry and other like goods; Joshua Mordekai En Riques is the name of the enterprising trader. Compare article on "Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce", (*supra*, p. —); Curaçao also note similarity of the name of this trader to those from tombstones, given *post* (p. 156) in the list from Mr. Corcos' book.

each place, was extremely serviceable in leading to the commercial development of both colonies.

APPENDIX I.

LETTER FROM DIRECTORS OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY TO GOV. STUYVESANT, MARCH 21, 1651.

(Vol. 14 of Documents relating to Colonial History of the State of New York, p. 135.)

"Although we have once before written about the island of Curaçoa, that, if we should have no revenue whatever from there it might be advisable to abandon it, instead of holding it any longer in hope of unexpected returns; we do not mean to say that we had come to that resolution, but used it only as an example. The enclosed contract made with a Jew, Jan de Illau will prove to you the contrary. He intends to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate, as he pretends, the land, but we begin to suspect, that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accomodate him within proper limits, and in conformity with the conditions of his contract."

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS IN HOLLAND TO STUYVESANT, APRIL 4, 1652.

(Id. Vol. 14, Page 172.)

"You think we have done well in treating with Jean Dillan about establishing a colony at Curaçoa; we have now granted a like privilege to a Portuguese, Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, agreeable to the here enclosed patent, who is preparing to go there with a large number of people. Time must show whether we shall succeed well with this nation; they are a crafty and generally treacherous people in whom therefore not too much confidence must be placed."

IN VOL. 8 OF VANDERKEMP'S MS. TRANSLATIONS OF THE DUTCH RECORDS OF NEW YORK, IN THE STATE LIBRARY, AT ALBANY, PAGE

34 (see O'Callaghan's *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, Dutch Manuscripts, Vol. XVII, Curaçoa Papers, p. 329) appears the following, dated Feb. 22, 1652:

"PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS granted by the Directors of the West India Company, Department Amsterdam, to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi & Co., as patroon of the colony on the Island of Curaçoa, situated within the limits of the district of the aforesaid company.

—:1:—

The aforesaid Joseph Nunes de Fonseca & Co. are permitted to embark in their own or hired vessels to the island of Curaçoa and establish there a colony on the following conditions:

—:2:—

The skipper of said vessel or vessels must be provided with the usual commission, mentioning the name, tons, shape and crew of the vessel.

—:3:—

The private individuals, either colonists of the aforesaid de Fonseca or his partners, shall be obliged to give up their names to the Department of Amsterdam, to demand a permit for their embarcation, and engage themselves to execute the orders and the stipulations of the company faithfully.

—:4:—

The aforesaid de Fonseca, or his substitute on the island of Curaçoa, shall be obliged as soon as they are arrived in the island of Curaçoa, to address himself to the Vice Director of the aforesaid island, being now the person of Lucas Rodenburgh, and take there the oath of allegiance, acknowledging him and his council for his lawful sovereign, paying him obeisance as it ought to be in executing all his orders and commands.

—:5:—

It is further permitted to Fonseca and partners, in the form of a lease, to select and take possession of all such lands as he, with his colonists, shall be able to cultivate, to obtain every sort of produce, to increase the number of cattle in that country, except only the Salinas and the woods of stock fish hout, which the company reserves for her own use, the extent of said lands being calculated to the number of the settlers, viz: for fifty persons two miles along the coast; for one hundred persons four miles, and so in the same proportion, with the express condition that they shall be obliged to make a beginning with their cultivation within a year, and that they shall bring within four years the stipulated number of settlers in that country under the penalty of the forfeiture of said lands.

—: 6 :—

Said persons shall pay no tithes nor other recognition from their produce during ten years. But of wood, (stock vish hout) and other merchantable articles they shall pay at the same rate as the other inhabitants.

—: 7 :—

But they shall not be permitted to appropriate any wood chopt in behalf of the company, neither shall they depossess any individuals, either Indians or other persons, from the lands of which they have taken possession ; but it is permitted, if they can, by the consent of said Vice Director, obtain these lands at a reasonable compensation.

—: 8 :—

The aforesaid patroon and colonists shall bring the wares and merchandise which they intend to export from here, to the magazine of the company, paying for these at the rate of other persons, provided that nothing shall be paid with regard to victuals and other necessary articles which are required for the maintenance of the aforesaid colony.

—: 9 :—

The aforesaid patroon shall, if he does desire it, receive a commission from their high Might. to take any vessels of the Portugese, provided that the captured vessels must be conducted hither to be submitted by the company to the judicature of the Admiralty upon such a commission as is paid by the other commissioned vessels.

—: 10 :—

The Directors shall command and instruct the aforesaid Vice Director that he may not in any manner trouble the aforesaid patroon and his colonists, but to the contrary, assist them as far as it may be in his power, so as the company takes them under her saveguard and protection, promising them that she is willing to defend them by all the means which are there in her power against any hostile attack, provided that in such case the aforesaid persons are willing to defend themselves; for which end every male person shall provide himself herewith with a gun or musket of the usual caliber at their private expenses or those of the patroon.

—: 11 :—

And whereas among these colonists some Christians may be found, it shall not be permitted to the patroon to compel them to any labour on the sabbath of the Christians, as neither he nor any others, being no Christians, are permitted,—although they are no Christians,—to work on that day, much less shall he disturb those in their religous worship or give them any offence, as such would be contrary to the intention of the company who therefore shall provide against it by her letters to the Vice Director.

—:12:—

Lastly, it shall be granted that all such priveleges shall be enjoyed by said patroon as in future may be given to the patroons of colonies in New Netherland, as much at least as the present situation of that island shall permit, to which purpose a copy of all such priveleges shall be transmitted to them to regulate themselves accordingly.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS TO STUYVESANT, DATED DEC. 13, 1652.

(Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. XIV, p. 193.)

"You will please to forward the enclosure to Director Rodenborch by the next ship and to write him, not to fell any more logwood trees, or allow any to be exported except for the Company's account, for we observe that the Colonist Jean de Illan and his companions do not intend, as they said, to cultivate the land and plant tobacco, indigo, cotton and other staples, but simply to clear it of the logwood and trade with it and horses to the Caribean Islands; we wish, he had not been so much encouraged herein, and that he had not received permission to freight the ship "St. Joris," Joris Javan skipper, with horses, for henceforth we desire that no more horses shall be exported from Bueneiro, Curaçao and Aruba, but that they shall remain there to be used in time in our province of New Netherland. We notice and receive daily information, that the best horses have been taken from the Islands and that in the end there will only be left there a lot of broken down animals; on that account we shall not grant any more colonies there."

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY FROM DEPARTMENT OF AMSTERDAM, DATED JUNE 6, 1653.

(Vanderkemp's MS. Translation of Dutch Records, Vol. IV, p. 101.)

We conclude from the informations which we receive now and then from Curacoa, that this colony is rather detrimental than profitable to the company, as a colonist, Juan Dilliano, and his adherents, have no aim to cultivate the soil and promote the increase of its products as the intention was of the company, but their only employ is limited to cutting away the stock visch hout and exporting the horses from the island of Aruba and Bonaires to the Caribbean and other neighboring isles, so that ere long nothing shall be left from either article on this island. As one

of their adherents is embarking here and did solicit our recommendation so that he might not be hindered in the chopping of stock visch hout, we deem it proper to warn your Hon^r^ that you might be on your guard and take such precautions that this fraudulent nation may not further proceed to destroy this wood and export it from the woods of the company, which they are no more permitted to enter than the salt licks, as is evident from the fifth article of the privileges and exemptions with which they have been favored, for which purpose it is required that the same woods be shewn to them and then reserved and marked, as we cannot permit that they, without having obtained from the company a license to collect salt and wood, should freight their vessel or vessels with it and export it to their colony and plantations from every part of this island and offer it for sale to any ship that might arrive there. We are informed that this Nation is so unwearied in this traffick that they not only neglect to cultivate tobacco, Indigo, cotton and other produce of the soil, but do not even provide themselves with the first necessaries of life, so that there is much reason to apprehend that they in time shall become a burthen on the magazines of the company. As all this is contrary to good order and the declared intention of the company, and especially contrary to the fifth article of the privileges and exemptions by which, among others, they were obliged to cultivate the lands which they had occupied under penalty of their forfeiture, so it is our express will and command that they shall conduct themselves in conformity to this rule or forfeit their rights agreeable to the articles of the privileges and exemptions with which they have been favored; All which your Honor will consider as a permanent rule for your conduct. * * * * * * *

(Signed) Edward Man.

Letter from the Directors to Governor Stuyvesant, Amsterdam, July 24, 1653.

(Vanderkemp's MS. Translation Dutch Records, Vol. 4, p. 113).

"You will convey the enclosed letter to Deputy Director Rodenburg at Curacoa by the first opportunity and as some of the Jewish nation who are associated with Juan Delino, colonist, on said island did solicit our consent to purchase a few negros, if any were offered for sale in New Netherland, and export them to Curacoa to promote, as they pretend, their agriculture, we must inform your honor that we have declined to grant their request because the company did prefer to encourage first the population and agriculture of New Netherland, wherefore all servants ought to be kept there and no one permitted to leave the country, if it ever shall arrive to any degree of grandeur."

LETTER FROM VICE DIRECTOR RODENBURCH TO THE DIRECTORS, DATED APRIL 2, 1654.

(Vanderkemp's MS. *Translation of Dutch Records*, Vol. 8, p. 107.)

"We must use patience in collecting the money for the horses delivered to John Dylan, as it is very difficult to gather where scarce anything is: had we known that his partners in Fatherland were not sufficient and that your Hon. would not have arrested the goods brought over by Mr. Joris, then we would have detained these as a security. We owe him yet about f2,500 to 3,000 for flower and clothes which he delivered to the company's servants, which sum we shall retain and endeavor to collect the remainder.

We can scarce perform here anything else besides exhausting the company's servants, who ought and would be profitable to the company had they any cargos to dispose of. They now sell old curtains and other old shreds at three times the price for which these now can be procured in Fatherland. The patroon requested us lately to credit the Captain of the Indians 150 R. Doll., which he had delivered to him in goods. When we thereon inquired what articles he received to that amount, so was it estimated by the officers and two skippers, passengers that the whole would be valued in the Fatherland f25,—19, and this we give as a sample of which many more might be given, but we hope to put a stop to it, as his privelege must be soon expired if he does not fulfill the stipulations.

One is that he ought to have fifty settlers or forfeit all his priveleges, whereas now there are only ten or twelve in his colony, who all wished to get rid of him and become planters under the protection of the company without the limits of said colony, but I would not accept their offers before I had received your Hon. orders, by which I shall be instructed what to do."

The Directors replied to this, on the 7th of July in the same year, (id., p. 117) follows:

" We duely received by the vessel the Good Hope your letter with the books and papers of the 2 April, this year, to which we answer. And first we have with regret and great displeasure the misconduct and extortions made there by the Jewish nation and the colonist John de Yllan, in the sale of their wares and old shreds at such an exorbitant price; wherefore we command you to prevent this in future by all possible means, and that less opportunity may be given to such impositions, so is that we have resolved to supply you by the first opportunity with a few necessary articles. So well for the clothing of the soldiers, victuals and stationery, besides some ammunition of war, as you will see by the annexed lists. * *

Further we learned long since with deep regret that the colonist John de Yllan does not effect there a great deal, neither endeavors to promote agriculture, wherefore we communicated you our intention by our orders of 24 July last year how to act with him, to which we refer ourselves. Meanwhile you must not neglect to collect the debt which said Yllan is yet owing the company, and more so as nothing is obtainable here from his partners.

We believe indeed, that the few individuals ye in the service of the aforesaid Jew should be willing to leave him, but as long as they are well treated, then they are in duty bound to remain in his service; which expired, they are at liberty to look out for other matters." * * * * * * * * * * *

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING IN THE LODGINGS OF THE VICE DIRECTOR, M. BECK, (CURAÇAO,) MONDAY, 21 FEB., 1656.

(Vanderkemp's Translation Dutch MS. Records, Vol. XII, p. 79.)

Present: M. Beck, Vice Director, Bogert Hammart, Lieutenant, Jan Jacobs Bruyn, Ensign, Balthazar Van Essen, Cornet, Hans Gronwel, Sargeant.

It was proposed by the Honorable Vice Director M. Beck that the petition of the Jew Isaack de Fonseca, being a merchant on the ship named Constant Anna, which arrived here in the harbour from the Barbadoes on the 18th. instant, bringing hither a cargo of flower and brandy and with oil and dry goods—all delivered by the aforesaid Jew and agreeable to the invoice and requesting that he might be permitted to trade with these articles either with the company or with the inhabitants of this island, having for this end brought with him some letters of introduction and recommendation of the Governor of the Barbadoes, which have been read before and communicated to this meeting, declaring that if the company will allow here a free trade to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, a similar privilege would be granted to those of these islands on the Barbadoes, on which request the Vice Director desired to hear the opinion of the council and communicated them at the same time his doubts as, first he was not authorized by the company to admit here any trading whatever, particularly not to trade with horses (except) as compelled by the imperious necessity and want of victuals, and whereas the victuals are the smallest part of the cargo of this merchant and the remainder consists in dry goods and liquors, that by permitting of a free trade in this island not only a large part of the bleating stock of sheep and goats should be carried off and this island ere long should be left without them, but further that through the

high prices and artful trading of the Jewish nation the natives of this country would be soon destitute of their bleating stock, by which they would soon be bereft of the means of subsistence to the great loss and injury of the company. Secondly: That it had many difficulties, and thus deserved a mature consideration to give here a direct refusal not to exercise here any trade at all as the company in such a case might become excluded to trade in any manner at the Barbadoes or hold any correspondence with that island, even when circumstances might render it desirable. More so as the aforesaid merchant and the skipper of the ship who is an Englishman declare as certain that if from here, on account of the company, any vessels or ship arrived at the Barbadoes, they shall be admitted and permitted to trade there as freely as any Englishman; whereon it is the opinion of the Vice Director that if this is so and the company takes hold of this opportunity, in proportion of the increase of horses, and that some should be spared from these islands, the company would be benefitted and obtain an early profit which now is aimed at by the individuals who refore (?) the Vice Director pursuant to the aforesaid considerations and the council submitting it, and after mature deliberation it was decided unanimously that if the aforesaid merchant, Isaac de Fonseca will demand a reasonable price for his cargo and sell it to the company, provided he will agree to accept his payment at Aruba in horses of the company and some bleeting flock if this can be spared, that then a trade shall be opend with him.

(Page 82, same heading. Meeting Feb. 23, 1656.)

De Fonseca having refused above conditions, had determined to pursue his voyage to Jamaica, when the Council on account of "penurious situation of company's magazine, with the uncertainty when from Holland or New Netherland fresh supplies might be obtained and the indifferent crops through which the negroes of the company and other residents of the country should require assistance to preserve their lives, &c., he was allowed to supply the garrison with victuals, &c., and to trade with natives, except Indians, for only those things that were necessary.

Letter from M. Beck, March 21, 1656.

(Id., Vol. XII, p. 231.)

Arrived on Feb. 18 a small vessel from Barbadoes named Constant Anna, despatched by a Jewish merchant residing at Barbadoes. He believes that ship's destination was to trade here instead of

Jamaica, as he might have heard of our famished condition. Bought 4,000 lbs. unbolted flouer, 1 large vat of hard bread and about 5 or 6 hundred gl. in wares & merchandise, besides 1 pipe brandy, 6 vats of beer, amounting together above 3,000 gl., on which we delivered in payment 14 horses, such as well might be spared here at 150 car gl. each in conformity to the price established by company and the remainder in stock-fish hout, a ten gl. the hundred, being wood which was chpt here by a Jew on account of the company—in conformity to the price fixed upon by your Honor, viz; a thirty the hundred, but the wood is indeed so bad, that I should not dare to send it either to your Honor in New Netherland or to the Lord Mayor's in our Fatherland so as it is here known and even of public notoriety, and however as the aforesaid merchant wished to purchase it, more so yet as it had been chopt by a Jew as aforesaid, I agreed to part with it in his behalf at the aforesaid price, deeming it preferable to take hold of this opportunity and sell it, which would be a benefit to the company, rather than to convey it to the Fatherland at the company's loss. * * *

Three or four Jews solicited that they might be permitted to leave this island, in which I consented, as their presence here is more injurious than profitable.

Your affectionate servant,

M. Beck.

Curacoa in Fort,
Amsterdam 21 March 1656.

Letter from Stuyvesant to the Directors, Dec. 26, 1659.

(Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. 14, pp. 454–5.)

"On former occasions you have recommended and urged us, to encourage private individuals in this province to trade to Curacao with provisions and other merchandises for the sake of continuing the commerce and correspondence between the two places. This is highly necessary and desirable if it could be done with profit or at least without loss, but that is hardly to be expected and we see less inclination and no chance for a profitable trade, as long as the inhabitants and merchants sending goods here are and remain subject to the duty of 12 to 16 p. ct., while those who sent their goods to Curacao direct, pay only two p. ct. as the bearer hereof, skipper Jan Pietersen Groot, tells us, and goods sent directly from Amsterdam to Curaçao sell there cent p. cent; on the other side, goods sent here must first be exchanged for wampum, and this for beavers or tobacco; when disposed of at the best advantage with a great deal of trouble they

do not bring 20 p. ct clear profit, which of course can give only little encouragement for a trade from here to Curaçao. Furthermore, negroes brought there for 140 to 150 pieces of 8 in cash, cannot be sold here for that price in beavers or tobacco, so that the expenses and the risk of the voyage out and back are lost.

Your Honors hold logwood for your own account, agreeably to a contract made with some private parties; therefore nothing can be exported; salt remains at a low price and there is no hope of an advance for the private trader. . . . When the duties in both places are the same, it is pretty certain, that the intercourse and traffic between them will prevent the frauds and contraband trade, carried on by ships coming here via Curacao, as two of them have done lately. If you would further be pleased for the benefit and encouragement of agriculture to place a fair and fixed price upon negroes, whom your subjects might desire to import here for provisions, lumber or otherwise, as you have fixed the price for horses, imported here from Curacao, it would undoubtedly increase the trade to Curacao and provide the Island from here with plenty of commodities, timber, etc., so that it would never be in want of anything. The enclosure from Mr. Beck informs us, that for the benefit of the people on the Island, you sell negroes to the usurious Jews at a lower price than to Spaniards and other foreigners. We believe and are quite sure, that for the sake of promoting the trade between the two places, of encouraging agriculture and advancing the welfare of your subjects here, your Honors will give them, if not more, at least the same privileges and demand the same taxes, as from the usurious and covetous Jews."

APPENDIX II.

(From J. M. Corcos' *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao*, pp. 10–13.)

"The earliest interments we find there are the following:
Ishack Henriquez Cotinho 5431—1670.
Rev. Abraham Haim Lopez da Fonseca 22 de Menahem 5432—1671.
Ishack Henriquez Morao 7 de Shebat 5432—1673.
Eliaho Hizkiaho Touro 3 de Ab 5434—1673.
Rachel Dovale 4 de Adar 5438—1677.
Esther de Ephraem Jesurun Henriquez 6 de Tammuz 5439—1678.
Rebecca de Mordecay Hizkiaho Henriquez 25 de Kislev 5440—1679.
Menasseh Jesurun Henriquez 24 de Kislev 5446—1685.
Jacob de Ishack Henriquez Cotinho 22 de Cheshvan 5447—1686.

Sarah Alvarez 21 de Sivan 5449—1688.
Sarah de Marchena 29 de Tebet 5449—1688.
Rachel de Ishack Gaon 22 de Iyar 5450—1690.
Rachel Vaez 9 de Shebat 5450—1690.
David Jesurun 15 de Adar 5451—1691.
David Abendana Pereyra 21 de Sivan 5451—1691.
Sarah Simha de Abraham de Marchena 26 de Nissan 5451—1697.
Benjamin Aboab de Paz 21 de Iyar 5452—1692.
Jacob Naar 27 de Sivan 5452—1692.
Benjamin Hizkiaho Henriquez 7 de Tishri 5453—1693.
Jacob Lopez Salsedo 8 de Tammuz 5453—1693.
David Raphael de Marchena 11 de Tishri 5453—1693.
Abraham Hizkiaho Leao 25 de Nissan 5454—18th June 1694.
Zillah Rachel de Leao 19 de Tebet 5458—1698.
Sarah filha de Abraham Chaviz 27 de Tammuz 5460—1700.
Joseph Da Costa Andrade 9 de Iyar 5464—1704.
Rachel Hannah Pereyra Atias 26 de Shebat 5465—1705.
Joshua Henriquez 9 de Cheshvan 5465—1705.
N. Z. J. David Raphael Lopez da Fonseca Hazan e Riby No Kahal Kadosh Mikveh Israel en Curacao 28 de Tammuz 5467—1707.
Leah de Abraham Molina 29 de Menahem Ab 5467—1707.
Clara de Ishack Touro died 84 years old 5508—1748.

These might not be the oldest graves in the burial ground, as there are about fifteen or twenty bearing no epitaphs, and, according to tradition, they are the oldest."

NOTES.

LUIS DE SANTANGEL AND COLUMBUS.

In Emilio Castelar's "Life of Columbus," *Century Magazine*, July, 1892, Vol. XLIV, p. 364, an interesting passage concerning Columbus' indebtedness to the Jews occurs, which may serve to supplement the items extracted by Mr. Oscar S. Straus, from the Spanish edition of the same work in his Presidential Address of 1897.[1] It reads as follows: "Quintanilla had opened to Columbus the pathway to the court, Santangelo (Santangel in Anglicized form), opened the road to Palos. Of a family of converts, himself but recently a Christian, one of those antique Jews who have so greatly helped to enlighten the Christian world, like the Cartagenas of Burgos, for instance, he joined, as is the nature and tendency of his race, the love of the ideal, appropriate to the prophets divinely inspired of the Lord, to the reflective calculations of the schemer and the mathematician. It is a historical fact that one day Ferdinand V, on his way from Aragon to Castile, and needing some ready cash, as often happened, owing to the impoverishment of those kingdoms, halted his horse at the door of Santangelo's house in Calatayud, and, dismounting, entered and obtained a considerable sum from the latter's inexhaustible private coffers. He must have enjoyed great power, for although some of his near kinsfolk took part in the immolation of Pedro Arbues, the first inquisitor, who was slain in the frenzy of a popular uprising, no harm came to Ferdinand's treasurer, neither did he fall from royal favor, nor incur the usual penalty of infamy. As soon as Santangelo heard of the

[1] *Publications*, No. 8, pp. 2-5.

flight of Columbus, he went to the queen's chamber and implored her to order him to return, being supported in this by the Marchioness of Maya. And when the queen complained of the exorbitant demands of the discoverer, he reminded her that the cost would be but a trifling consideration, if the attempt succeeded, and if it failed could be reduced to next to nothing. When to this cogent reasoning, the queen objected the emptiness of the Castilian treasury and the need of again pawning her jewels to raise the means, Santangelo unhesitatingly assured her of the flourishing state of the Aragonese finances, doubtless because of the revenues yielded by the expulsion of the Jews, and of the resources there available, promising at the same time to win over the perplexed and inert mind of Ferdinand the Catholic. Thereupon messengers were sent post-haste, who stopped Columbus at a neighboring bridge some two leagues away, and made him turn back to Granada, where, in April, 1492, the articles of agreement known as the capitulations of Santa Fe were signed, granting Columbus all he asked."

In his "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries" Dr. M. Kayserling shows that this same Luis de Santangel, who was then chancellor of the royal household and comptroller general of Aragon, personally advanced nearly all this money (pp. 55–79). He says (p. 75): "At that time neither Aragon nor Castile, neither Ferdinand nor Isabella, had at their disposal enough money to equip a fleet. Santangel, who was always ready to oblige the Crown—advanced 17,000 florins—nearly 5,000,000 mararedis. The Queen's jewels were not demanded as security; all of them were not, in fact, in her possession at that time, for she had pledged her necklace during the late war. . . Santangelo's extraordinary services in this matter are clearly demonstrated by the excessive praise which Ferdinand accorded his 'well-beloved'

Luis de Santangel and by the many proofs of gratitude which the King gave him. That he advanced this money out of his own pocket is proved beyond question by the original account books (p. 77) which were formerly in the archives of Simancas, and which are still preserved in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. In the account-book of Luis de Santangel and the treasurer Francisco Pinilo, extending from 1491 to 1493, Santangel is credited with an item of 1,400,000 mararedis which he gave to the Bishop of Avila for Columbus' expedition. In another account-book, that of Garcia Martinez and Pedro de Montemayor, there is the following item: 'Alonso de las Calezas, treasurer of war in the bishopric of Badajoz, by order of the Archbishop of Granada, dated May 5, 1492, paid to Alonso de Angelo for Luis de Santangel, the King's escribano de racion, whose authorization was presented with the aforesaid order, 2,640,-000 mararedis, to wit, 1,500,000 in payment to Isaac Abravanel for money which he had lent their Majesties in the Moorish war, and the remaining 1,140,000 mararedis in payment to the aforesaid escribano de racion of money which he advanced to equip the caravels ordered by their Majesties for the expedition to the Indies and to pay Christopher Columbus, the admiral of that fleet.' On May 20, 1493, on which day Ferdinand was particularly occupied with Columbus and his expedition, the King ordered his treasurer-general, Gabriel Sanchez, to pay 30,000 florins in gold to 'his beloved councillor and escribano de racion, Luis de Santangel.' This sum certainly included the remainder of the loan."

The first and second letters, narrating the facts of his great discovery, were addressed by Columbus to these Marranos, Santangel and Sanchez, respectively, with a view to having them communicate their contents to the King and Queen. The text, in early printed copies, constitute the

rarest and most valued accounts of Columbus' discovery handed down to us. Winsor, in his "Christopher Columbus" rejects the Queen Isabella jewel story and "follows Henry Harrisse's view and judges the advance of funds to have been by Santangel from his private revenues and in the interests of Castile only. And this seems to be proved by the invariable exclusion of Ferdinand's subjects from participation in the advantages of trade in the new lands, unless an exception was made in for some signal service."

Columbus himself, in his journal, calls attention to the coincidence of his first voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the following passage: "So, after having expelled the Jews from your dominions, your Highness, in the same month of January, ordered me to proceed with a sufficient armament, to the said regions of India." Castelar (*Century Magazine, id.*, p. 589) comments on this coincidence as follows: "It chanced that one of the last vessels transporting into exile the Jews expelled from Spain by the religious intolerance of which the recently created and odious Tribunal of the Faith was the embodiment, passed by the little fleet bound in search of another world, whose creation should be new-born, a haven be afforded to the quickening principle of human liberty, and a temple reared to the God of enfranchised and redeemed consciences. As though the sun were not to shine for all, as though the will of heaven had not made us equal, the accursed spirit of reaction was wreaking one of its stupendous and futile crimes in that very hour when the genius of liberty was searching the waves for the land that must needs arise to offer an unstained abode for the ideals of progress. Following their narrow views, the powers of the Middle Ages denied even light and warmth to the Jews at the same time that they revealed a new creation for a new order of society, that was predestined by Providence to put an end to all intoler-

ance and to dedicate an infinite continent to modern democracy." M. J. K.

JEWS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

"Hart Jacobs, a Jew attending at the door, requests an exemption from doing military duty, on the City Watch, on Friday nights, which is part of his Sabbath. Thereupon a Certificate was given to him, in the words following, to wit:

"Hart Jacobs, of the Jewish religion, having signified to this Committee that it is inconsistent with his religious profession to perform military duty on Friday nights, being part of the Jewish Sabbath, it is

"Ordered, That he be exempted from Military duty on that night of the week, to be subject, nevertheless, to the performance of his full tour of duty on other nights."

[Minutes of New York Committee of Safety, Monday, January 22, 1776, in Force's *Am. Arch.*, 4th Series, vol. IV, p. 1065.]

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 19, 1775, No. 2430, under date of July 17, Mordecai Levy acknowledges to having spoken disrespectfully of the Continental Congress and of military gentlemen, and now expresses sorrow for his guilty utterances. He has been convinced that all assemblies are legal and constitutional and that no soldiers are so respectable as those citizens who take up arms in defense of liberty. He believes that Kings are only to be feared and obeyed when they execute just laws, and that the Ministry and Parliament are attempting to reduce the Colonies to slavery. He wishes that the Councils of the Congress may always be directed with wisdom, and the arms of America always be crowned with success. "And I pray that every man in America, who behaves as I have formerly done, may not meet with the lenity which I have experienced, but may be obliged to expiate his crimes in a more ignominious manner."

In an appendix to the work on "Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution" by Dr. A. C. Flick (New York, Columbia University Press, 1901) a tabulated list of "Forfeited estates of Loyalists sold in New York City" is to be found, from which the following items are taken:

Date of Sale.	Loyalist Owner.	Purchaser.	Price.	Description.
Nov. 18, 1784.	James De Lancey, attainted.	Isaac Moses, merchant.	£95	Lots 792-796 in Out Ward. N. by De Lancey st., S. by lot No. 797, E. by Fourth st., W. by lots No. 787-791.
Dec. 30, 1784.	"	Jacob Mordecai.	£66	Lots 275 & 276 in Out Ward. E. by 2nd. st., W. by lots 255 & 256, N. by lot No. 214, S. by lot No. 277.
Feb. 22, 1785.	"	Isaac Moses,	£256	Lots No. 1430-1437, & 1454-1461 in Out Ward. S. by Eagle st., E. by Norfolk st., W. by Essex st., N. by lots No. 1438 & 1445.
Aug. 16, 1787.	"	Philip Jacobs, merchant.	£910	Messuage and land in Out Ward. W. by Bowery Lane N. by Gabriel Furman, E. by lot No. 27, S. by Division st.
Aug. 17, 1787.	Oliver De Lancey.	"	£910	2 lots on Bowery Lane.

By reference to Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, vol. III, pp. 364-5, 1776, it will be found that Moses Franks was, during the years 1774 and 1775 one of the principal providers of provisions for the British army in Quebec, Montreal, Massachusetts, New York, and in the Illinois country.

"If a certain Asher Levy, son of Mr. Isaac Levy, of the city of Philadelphia, deceased, will apply to the Printer hereof, he will hear of something to his advantage."

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 9, 1783.]

"I, the subscriber, being of lawful age, do testify and say, that on or about the 24th of September, 1775, being on board the Gaspee man-of-war, I saw Colonel [Ethan Allen] with a pair of irons on his legs, and a sentry standing before him with a pistol in his hand.

"Dated at Montreal, February 14, 1776.

LEVI SOLOMONS.

"Sworn before me, Montreal, February 14, 1776.

DAVID WOOSTER.

Brigadier General."

[Force's *Am. Archives*, 4th series, vol. V, p. 149.]

"Isaac Adolphus, a very honest Israelite, well known, and greatly respected by the inhabitants of this city, yesterday resigned his breath: he had been seized with a sore throat a few days before his dissolution. He lived 24 years in this country, and has not left an enemy behind him."

[Rivington's *New York Gazette*, September 8, 1774, No. 73.]

In the recently issued reprint, of the *American Weekly Mercury*, of Philadelphia, for 1721, the following items are

to be found: Custom House, Boston, July 15, "Entered Inward" Joshua Benjamin from Barbados.

(July 27—August 3, 1721. Reprint p. 86.)

Samuel Jacobs, commander of the Sloop "Antelope" cleared from Philadelphia for Barbados on June 15, 1721, returned on August 25, and sailed again for that port on September 7 and 28. (Reprint pp. 60, 96, 100, 108.)

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

SOME NOTES ON THE CAREER OF COLONEL DAVID S. FRANKS.

Military Career while connected with Massachusetts troops. "Franks David (also given David Salisbury) Boston (also given Philadelphia.) list of men mustered by Nathaniel Barber, Muster Master for Suffolk County, dated Boston, Jan. 19, 1777. Major Ebenezer Steven's Battallion; also descriptive list. Capt. John Lillies Co., Col. John Crane (3d Artillery) Regiment, age 40, stature 5 ft. 7 in. Complexion, brown, residence Boston; engaged for town of Boston, engaged by Lieut. Traicey in 1777 term, during war. Also matross, Capt. John Lillie's Co., Col. John Crane's Artillery Regt; Continental Army Pay Accounts for Service from Jan. 15, 1777–Dec. 31, 1780. Residence Philadelphia."

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, vol. VI, page 19.

The following note may also be of interest although it is doubtful whether it refers to Col. Franks.

"Franks David. Marine. Sloop 'Providence' commanded by Capt. John Paul Jones. List of Men entitled to prize shares in the ship 'Alexander,' captured Sept. 20, 1777."

Ibid., vol. VI, p. 20.

There are also several other similar references.

The following references are taken from the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson.

Baltimore February 14, 1783.

To James Madison :—

"My stay has given me opportunity of making some experiments of my amanuences, F———s, perhaps better than I may have in France. He appears to have a good eno' heart, and understanding somewhat better than common, but too little guard over his lips. I have marked him particularly in the company of women where he loses all power over himself and becomes almost (lacking). His temperature would not be proof against their allurements were such to be employed as engines against him. This is in some measure the vice of his age but it seems to be increased also by his peculiar constitution."

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, 1894, volume III, p. 310.

Paris, November 11, 1784.

To James Monroe :—

"Before my arrival here Mr. Barclay in consequence of the powers given him by his commission had made an appointment or two of consuls for some of the ports of this Country, particularly of Franks for Marseilles. He is very anxious to be continued in it and is now there in the exercise of his office. If I have been rightly informed, his services and sacrifices during the war have had their merit and I should suppose Congress would not supersede him but on good grounds. I promised him that I would communicate his wishes to some of my friends that his pretension might not be set aside for want of being known."

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, volume IV, p. 8.

To James Madison :— Paris, January 30, 1787.

"You will see Franks and doubtless he may be asking some appointment. I wish there may be one for which he is fit. He is light, indiscreet, active, honest, affectionate."

Ibid., volume IV, p. 365.

February 5, 1787.

To James Madison :—

Since writing thus far, Franks has returned from England . . . . I send with Colonel Franks your pocket telescope, etc., etc.

Ibid., p. 368.

There are also a number of interesting references to Colonel Franks in the correspondence of Adams, Jefferson and Jay in connection with the services of Colonel Franks in negotiating and procuring the Treaty with Morocco.

See *Works of John Adams*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1853, volume VIII, pp. 316, 317-349, 422, 426, 429-431. LEON HÜHNER.

MILITARY RECORD OF ISAAC FRANKS.

The following is perhaps the most complete record of the military career of Isaac Franks, while connected with the Massachusetts troops, during the Revolutionary War.

"Isaac Franks.—Letter from Lieut. Col. J. Brooks to Gov. Hancock, dated Boston, Feb. 22, 1781, recommending said Franks who had served in his regiment for some time past in the Quartermaster General's Department to an Ensigncy in his regiment, and asked that a warrant be granted him and that he take rank from Jan; 1, 1781; ordered in Council Feb. 22, 1781 that a warrant be issued; reported commissioned Feb. 22, 1781, also Ensign. Lieut. Col. John Brooks (7th) Regiment; return of officers dated German Hutts May 18, 1781, reported on extra service settling accounts; also Ensign. Capt. Benjamin Warren's (8th) Co. Lieut. Col. Brooks regiment; muster roll for May 1781 dated West Point, appointed Jan. 1, 1781; reported on extra duty settling accounts from May 18, 1781 to June 15, 1781 dated West Point; reported in garrison settling

accounts from June 1, 1781; also returns of officers from June 22, 1781 to June 29, 1781 dated Peekskill, reported on duty at West Point; also Capt. Warrens Company, Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment; muster roll for June 1781; reported on Command at West Point; also same regiment returns of officers from July 7, 1781 to July 27, 1781, dated Phillipsburgh, reported on command at West Point; also same regiment returns of officers from August 2, 1781 to August 17, 1781 dated Phillipsburgh, reported on command at West Point; also returns of officers dated Peekskill Augt. 25—August 31, 1781; reported on command at West Point, also return of officers dated West Point Sept. 13, 1781, reported attending court martial in garrison, also Capt. Mills Co. Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment, muster roll for Sept. 1781; also same regiment, return of officers dated Peekskill Oct. 5, 1781; leave granted said Franks Oct. 2, 1781 by Col. Brooks to go to Wall Hill for three days; also return of officers from Nov. 2, 1781—Nov. 23, 1781 dated Peekskill, reported on Command at Verplanck's Point; also Capt. Mills (7th) Co. Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment; muster roll for Oct., Nov., and December 1781 dated York Hutts; reported on Command at Verplanck's Point until Dec. 20, 1781; on furlough in Philadelphia by leave of Gen. McDougal (also given by leave of General Heath) from Dec. 28 (also given Dec. 18 and Dec. 29) 1781; furlough to expire March 15, 1782; also same regiment, return of officers from March 22, 1782—June 21, 1782 dated Hutts and West Point; reported absent since March 15, 1782 furlough reported to have expired; also 7th Mass. Regiment 1st Brigade, return of absent officers dated West Point June 24, 1782; said Franks furloughed Dec. 28, 1781 by Gen. McDougal; furlough expired April 10, 1782; reported refused to join regiment, pleading that he had Col. Humphrey's permission to resign without coming to camp; also Lieut. Col. Brook's regiment; return of officers from June 28, 1782—July 19, 1782 reported absent since March 15,

1782, also list of officers of 7th Mass. regiment, said Franks commissioned Jan. 1, 1781 resigned July 1782."

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, prepared and arranged by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston, 1899, vol. VI, p. 20.

LEON HÜHNER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In connection with Longfellow's beautiful poem on the Jewish Cemetery at Newport, the following passage from his diary, under date of July 9, 1852, is interesting, as suggesting the inspiration for it. Longfellow wrote: "Went this morning into the Jewish burying-ground with a polite old gentleman who keeps the key. There are few graves. Nearly all are low tombstones of marble, with Hebrew inscriptions and a few words added in English or Portuguese. At the foot of each, the letters S. A. D. G. It is a shady nook at the corner of two dusty frequented streets, with an iron fence and a granite gateway, erected at the expense of Mr. Touro of New Orleans. Over one of the graves grows a weeping willow—a grandchild of the willow over Napoleon's grave in St. Helena." Light as to the origin of another of Longfellow's Jewish poems is thrown by the following letter from the *New York Times*, of April 4, 1900, written by one who wrote authoritatively over the initials "H. W. M.": "The death of the revered and beloved Rabbi Wise recalls a story he told long ago of a visit made to the home of Longfellow. In the course of the conversation which took place the rabbi related the legend from the Talmud of Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer, which so impressed the poet that he made a note of it and afterwards wove into those verses, which may pass to posterity with his greater themes. The rabbi loved to talk of this visit and of walks beneath the famous elms." M. J. K.

Dr. M. Kayserling, writing in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (issue of July 12, 1901), supplements the "American Zionist Projects" described in Volume 8 of these *Publications*, (though he writes concerning an incident having no direct connection with America) by an account of the following transaction: "In 1770 a gentleman of rank ("Mann von Stande") turned with confidence to Moses Mendelssohn with a similar extraordinary project. Mendelssohn was no Zionist, and was too little of a visionary and much too clear a thinker, to have permitted the many difficulties, standing in the way of such a project, to escape him. The answer which he directed to this "gentleman of position" is so apt and convincing, that we cannot refrain from communicating it here: 'The greatest difficulty standing in the way of the project seems to me to be the character of my nation. It is not sufficiently prepared to undertake anything great. The oppression under which we have been living for so many centuries has deprived our spirit of all vigor. It is not our fault; yet we cannot gainsay it, that the natural striving for freedom has overcome energy in us. I cannot even assure myself that my widely scattered people possesses the co-operative force, without which the most carefully laid plans must fail. On the other hand, the project seems to require unlimited means, and I, who know that the riches of my people consist much more of credit than of actual wealth, cannot believe that their powers would suffice, to encompass this, even if, moreover, the passion for freedom would be ever so great and the love for the glittering metal would be ever so slight a force with them. Even without regard to all these difficulties, such a project would appear to me to be practicable only if all the powers of Europe were involved in universal war, and each would be bound to occupy itself with its own concerns. In the condition of peace in which they now find themselves, a single ambitious power—and there would be no dearth of these—can shatter the whole project. The unfortunate Crusades justify these fears only too much." (Moses Mendelssohn's *Collected Writings*, v, 494.)

In an interesting article on "Ararat," Mordecai M. Noah's project, contributed by Dr. Heinrich Loewe to *Die Welt* (issue of January 31st, 1902), further complementary matter is to be found. Some of the conditions that Mendelssohn seems to have deemed necessary appear to have been present, when Napoleon, in 1799, caused to be inserted in *Le Moniteur Universel* or *Gazette Nationale* (No. 243) the following canard: "Constantinople, le 28 Germinal. Bonaparte a fait publier une proclamation, dans laquelle il invite tous les Juifs de l'Asie et de l'Afrique à venir se ranger sous ses drapeaux pour retablir l'ancienne Jerusalem. Il en a déjà armé un grand nombre, et leurs bataillons macent Alep." Of more local interest is the scheme, referred to in the same article, on the part of a distinguished London Jew in the fall of 1825, to recruit immigrants to start a Jewish colony in Florida (*Shener-Zeitung*, No. 260, 7 November, 1825). Dr. Loewe's paper is of particular interest, as showing how much attention Noah's Ararat project awakened in Europe, contemporary accounts of it from a number of the leading newspapers of the different countries of Europe being reprinted. The article contains several items of interest to a biographer of Mordecai M. Noah, among other things, a reference to a German translation which appeared in Altona (Hammerich, 1838, 12mo) of Noah's pamphlet dealing with the alleged Hebrew origin of the American aborigines.

M. J. K.

NECROLOGY.

Herbert Baxter Adams.

The death of Herbert Baxter Adams, Professor of American and Institutional History in Johns Hopkins University, at Amherst, Mass., on July 30, 1901, means to the American Jewish Historical Society the loss which comes with the terminated activity not only of a distinguished toiler in the field of historical science, but of a staunch supporter and an interested participant in this Society's work. One of the persons whose advice was sought when the American Jewish Historical Society was first projected, his relation to its subsequent activities remained throughout one of the keenest interest and most cordial sympathy. He contributed to Volume 2, (1894) of the *Proceedings* an interesting sketch of Haym Salomon, from an unpublished MS. in the papers of Jared Sparks. In other less tangible ways he aided the scientific work of the Society and stimulated a number of its members.

Professor Adams was born at Shutesbury (near Amherst), Massachusetts, on April 16, 1850. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Amherst College, where he was graduated as valedictorian in 1872. After a year's teaching at Williston Seminary, he was encouraged to go abroad to pursue advanced studies in Germany in historical and political science. He studied under Bluntschli, Ihne, Curtius, Treitschke and other masters in Berlin and Heidelberg, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the political science faculty of Heidelberg on July 14, 1876.

He returned to the United States and was appointed fellow in history in the newly organized Johns Hopkins

University in Baltimore. There in increasingly honorable and important affiliation he spent the remaining twenty-five years of his life. The story of his manifold activities and his inspiring influence has been told elsewhere.[1] He built up a great school of historical and political science in Baltimore, whose influence has been widespread and enduring. He was one of the founders of the American Historical Association, and continued as its secretary until shortly before his death. He made many notable contributions to historical science and rendered important services to public affairs. But best of all he stimulated the minds, he influenced the characters and he shaped the aspirations of many young men, to whom his personality will always remain a living presence and his work an object of affectionate gratitude. To these there could be no juster estimate than that of ex-President Gilman, "there will be in Baltimore other teachers of American and institutional history, perhaps more learned, perhaps more philosophical, but there will be none more timely, none more useful, none more beloved than Herbert B. Adams, fellow, associate, associate professor, and professor in the Johns Hopkins University from 1876 to 1901" J. H. H.

David Hays.

David Hays was born in the City of New York on November 28, 1858, and died at Rochester, N. Y., on October 17, 1900. He was graduated from Rochester University in 1877, and after pursuing a post-graduate course in the University of Berlin commenced the study of law in 1878 and was admitted to practice in 1880.

[1] See "Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends. With a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902." This notable memorial volume contains memoirs and tributes from John M. Vincent, Richard T. Ely, Daniel C. Gilman and others.

Soon after his admission he formed a partnership with Mr. James Breck Perkins, the well known writer on French history, and this copartnership continued until Mr. Hays' death. He was a student in the highest sense of the term; a man of fine moral fibre; of exquisite literary taste; of gentle and refined manners, and of deep sincerity and scrupulous honesty. As a lawyer he was distinguished for his industry, his familiarity with legal principles, his powers of close and logical reasoning, and clearness of statement. At the time of his death he had become one of the leaders of the bar of Western New York. As a citizen he was prominent in all movements which tended toward good government and lived up to his ideals. He was a charitable man and was interested in many forms of philanthropic work. He served as President of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Western New York for a term of years and his administration was a most successful one. He died in the fullness of his powers, mourned by the entire community in which he lived. L. M.

Joseph Blumenthal.

Joseph Blumenthal was born in Munich, Germany, on December 1, 1834, and died in New York, on March 2, 1901. He took much interest in public affairs and actively participated in many campaigns. He was a member of the famous Committee of Seventy which was so greatly instrumental in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring. He was also a Member of Assembly in the years 1873 and 1874. Afterwards, at the personal request of the Hon. Allan Campbell, then Commissioner of Public Works, he served for several years as head of the Bureau of Incumbrances in that Department, during the Mayoralty of the Hon. Edward Cooper.

Later, he was again elected to the State Legislature, being a Member of the Assembly for four successive terms,

from 1888 to 1891, serving for a portion of this time as Chairman of the important Committee on Cities. He was for several years a Commissioner in one of the most important departments of the Government of the City of New York, namely, that of Taxes and Assessments. In his earlier years, he was a member of the Militia, being a Staff Officer of the Third Regiment of Cavalry, National Guard, State of New York.

He was, for a number of years, a member of the B'nai Brith and took an active interest in the Masonic Fraternity. He was affiliated with Adelphi Lodge, No. 23, F. & A. M., of which he was Master for numerous successive terms.

He was actively associated with Jewish communal affairs. For a great many years and up to his death, he was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, taking a deep interest in its welfare and serving both as Trustee and President. He took an active interest in the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and served for several years on the Board of Directors and as President of the Association.

Mr. Blumenthal was one of the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary in the City of New York and was the President of its Board of Trustees from its formation until his death. He devoted much of his time and attention during the last years of his life to this institution and was deeply devoted to its interests.

In the numerous and varied offices filled by him, both in civil life and in communal affairs, he always brought to the discharge of his duties the full measure of energy and zeal of which he was capable. He never accepted an office without being ready to perform all the duties connected therewith. He was always faithful and conscientious and whatever he undertook to do he did with all his might.

J. U.

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